The Diocese of Massachusetts

1810 1872



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JOSEPH BREED BERRY

HISTORY OF

The Diocese of Massachusetts

1810-1872

BY

JOSEPH BREED BERRY

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Joseph Breed Berry
1905-1957

JOSEPH BERRY was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, 10 May 1905, the son of Henry Newhall and Mabel (Breed) Berry. Prepared for college by private teachers, he entered Harvard in September 1927, but because of poor health he was unable to complete his course. Ten years later he enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts of Boston University where he received the A.B. degree in 1941 with Phi Beta Kappa honors. His intense interest in history led him to continue his studies at the graduate level, and he received the A.M. degree from Boston University in 1944 and from Harvard in 1947. By nature thorough in all that he did, he took pleasure in reading little-known books and in exploring subjects suggested by the wide range of his researches. The knowledge thus gained he gave generously to friends and acquaintances whose historical projects never failed to interest him. Summers he found pleasant relaxation in Hancock, New Hampshire, with his wife, the former Barbara Bartlett, whom he married 19 October 1935.

A devoted member of Trinity Church in Boston, deeply concerned with the place of religion in contemporary society, Mr. Berry took as his thesis subject at Harvard, when he decided to do advanced work in history for the PH.D. degree, 'The History of the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1810–1872'. The work here presented is the product of many hours of research under the general direction of Professor Oscar Handlin. The manuscript had been completed

and approved, subject to final revision, at the time of Mr. Berry's death, 28 January 1957.

In his search for material, and in writing, Mr. Berry spent much of his time in the library of the Boston Athenaeum, in which he had succeeded his great-uncle, Charles Henry Newhall, as proprietor. To its staff and particularly to its Director, Dr. Walter M. Whitehill, he would wish to express his thanks for friendly help and many courtesies. The Diocesan Library and its Librarian, Miss Gladys McCafferty, were constantly helpful, as was the staff of the Harvard College Library. Miss Ruth Thomas at The New England Historical and Genealogical Society assisted many times with genealogical problems. Dr. Stephen T. Riley and his staff opened freely the resources of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Dr. Whitehill was again helpful in the matter of arranging publication, and the manuscript has been seen through the press by the author's wife and by his friend, Dr. Robert E. Moody, with the expert assistance of Messrs. Roderick Stinehour and C. Freeman Keith of The Stinehour Press of Lunenburg, Vermont. The co-operation of the Rev. John R. Dallinger, Registrar of the Diocesan Library, under whose imprint this book appears, has been helpful at every stage. The index has been provided by Mr. Arthur McComb.

Other names would doubtless have appeared in the preface to this work had Mr. Berry lived to write it, for his friends were many and he as eagerly sought information from others as he shared his own. Fortunately, the body of the work is complete, and it has been printed as he left it except for minor editorial changes. A perfectionist, Mr. Berry would doubtless have made extensive revision of the text. But above all he would wish that the work upon which he lavished time and devotion would be made available to all those interested. It is sent forth, therefore, as an appropriate memorial to its author—a devout churchman and a kindly and scholarly gentleman.

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The Diocese of Massachusetts

CHAPTER I

IN suggesting his definition of history, Alan Richardson wrote that history is the study 'of all that man has been and has done in the past, of all that man is in the light of his total development until to-day . . .' . Oscar Handlin recently described history as aiming 'at the total situation as the historian sees it'.[1] Within such broad and inclusive concepts of history the following study was written.

The term 'diocese' is used to mean 'the district under the pastoral care of a bishop'—in this instance, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.[2] The 'district' under the pastoral care is the territory within the boundaries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts during the period covered. It should be noted that the boundaries in 1810 were not the boundaries of 1872. The term 'Diocese of Massachusetts' indicates at once that the subject falls chronologically in the post-Revolutionary period as there were neither dioceses nor bishops in the British colonies which became the United States of America.

As a number of lesser conventions, in which not all the states were represented, preceded the meeting of the Federal Constitutional Convention of 1787, so a number of general conventions of the Episcopal Church took place before the General Convention of 1789. This convention of 1789 sat as two Houses, a House of Bishops consisting of Bishops William White of Pennsylvania and Samuel Seabury of Connecticut, and a House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, composed of delegates representing the Church in eleven states.[3] At a preliminary convention of clergymen and lay deputies

1. Alan Richardson, D.D., *The Gospel and Modern Thought* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 35; *American Historical Review*, LXI, no. 2 (Jan. 1956), p. 333.

2. OED, 'Diocese', definition 3.

3. The Church in North Carolina and Georgia was not represented. Bishop Sam-

of the Episcopal Church, held in New York on 6 and 7 October 1784, nine states were represented.[4] This early meeting took place before Bishop Seabury had been consecrated. At this meeting in New York some recommendatory 'fundamental principles' were endorsed by the convention. The most important of these principles was the one stating 'That the said Church shall maintain the Doctrines of the Gospel as now held by the Church of England, and shall adhere to the Liturgy of the said Church, as far as shall be consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitution of the respective States'.[5] On the basis of this statement, one of the articles in the constitution of 1789 (Article VIII) made the use of the Book of Common Prayer mandatory in those 'States which shall have adopted this constitution'.[6]

The simplicity with which a church in any of the United States could become a member of General Convention appeared in Article V of the constitution of 1789. This article provided that 'A Protestant Episcopal Church in any of the United States not now represented, may, at any time hereafter, be admitted, on acceding to this Constitution'.[7]

Two other provisions of preliminary meetings of General Convention before 1789 may be noted in regard to the history of the Diocese of Massachusetts. One is Article III of a draft of a constitution drawn up at the Philadelphia convention of September and October, 1785, which stated that 'In the said Church in every State represented in this Convention, there shall be a Convention consisting of the Clergy and Lay Deputies of the congregation'.[8] The second provision appeared in a draft constitution which emerged from a general convention held at Philadelphia in June 1786. Embodied as the final article of a draft of a constitution was the statement to the effect that, when ratified by the Church 'in a

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uel Provoost of New York did not attend this convention. William Stevens Perry, ed., *Journals of General Conventions . . . 1785–1835* (Claremont, N. H., 1874, 3 vols.), I, 67, 100–102 (hereinafter cited as Perry, *JGC*).

4. Perry, *JGC*, III, 3. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were represented by the Rev. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church, Boston.
5. Perry, *JGC*, III, 4.
6. Perry, *JGC*, I, 84.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Perry, *JGC*, I, 22.

majority of the States assembled in General Convention', the said constitution was to be the supreme law of the Church, 'unalterable' by any state convention of the Church.[9]

Concurrently with the gatherings of Episcopalians in general conventions there were also state conventions. The first printed account of a convention of the Church in Massachusetts dated the convention as held 8 September 1784. This primary meeting, of clergy only, represented six Massachusetts parishes and two parishes in Rhode Island.[10] This record of the early Massachusetts journals, first printed in 1849, was 'carefully collated with the original Manuscript Records . . .'.[11] Yet in 1848 all the original manuscripts were not intact, and the introduction to the printed journals of 1784 to 1828 stated that 'Some portions of the Journals have already been lost, and valuable papers are missing, and it is feared, irrecoverably gone.'[12] After 1828 the journals of the annual conventions (and special conventions) of the Diocese of Massachusetts were printed each year.

At the annual convention of January 1791, the clergy and lay deputies voted unanimously to ratify and confirm the 'Ecclesiastical Constitution proposed by the Convention in October last [1790]'.[13] Then, in a convention of May 1791, the Church in Massachusetts voted to accede to the constitution of October 1789 of General Convention.[14] Finally at the annual convention in Boston on 24 May 1796 the convention chose, on the first ballot, the Rev. Edward Bass, D.D., as bishop-elect of the diocese.[15]

The organization of the Church in the States of New Hampshire,

9. Perry, *JGC*, I, 42.

10. *Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Massachusetts, from the Year 1784 to the Year 1828, Inclusive* (printed by order of the Convention of 1848. Boston: James B. Dow, 1849, 228 pp.). In subsequent footnote references, this work and the journals after 1828 are cited as *JM*, followed by the year and page number. The parishes were Boston (two), Newburyport, Salem, Scituate, and Marshfield in Massachusetts; Providence and Newport were the Rhode Island parishes.

11. *JM*, 1784, p. iv.

12. *Ibid.*

13. *JM*, 1791, p. 27.

14. *JM*, 1791, p. 32.

15. *JM*, 1796, p. 54. From the time that Bishop Seabury of Connecticut returned from his consecration in Aberdeen, the Church in Massachusetts had the occasional services of a diocesan, and was properly a diocese.

Rhode Island, Vermont, and Maine concerned Massachusetts, as these states (and dioceses) were to become members of the Eastern Diocese.

The printed record of the first convention of the Church in New Hampshire was dated 1802.[16] This convention was held at Concord in that state. The convention 'unanimously agreed' upon a constitution, which in its second article stated that '. . . the Constitution or Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States . . . are hereby most solemnly binding, . . . upon the members of the Convention and upon every congregation represented by them'.[17] The convention of August 1803 '*Resolved unanimously*, That the Right Reverend Bishop Bass be invited to take the Churches in this State under his pastoral care and perform such Episcopal acts as his convenience may permit and the good of the Church require'.[18] Shortly after the standing committee had written to Bishop Bass according to the Convention's resolution, the Bishop died, 10 September 1803, 'after an illness of but two days'.[19] It thus happened that Bishop Griswold was the first diocesan of New Hampshire.[20] The Rev. Carlton Chase, rector of Immanuel Church, Bellows Falls, Vermont, was 'unanimously and canonically elected Bishop of the Diocese of New-Hampshire', at a special convention held at Concord, October 1843, nearly nine months after Bishop Griswold's death.[21] Chase was second in the line of New Hampshire bishops.

In Vermont, the Church dated its organization and its conven-

16. *Journals of the First Twenty-Eight Conventions of the Diocese of New Hampshire, 1802–1828, Hitherto Unpublished, Together With a Re-Print of the Journals of Later Conventions (1829–1844) to the Consecration of the First Bishop* (Tilton, N.H., 1883). Cited as *JNH* and date of year.

17. *JNH*, 1802, p. 4.

18. *JNH*, 1803, p. 10.

19. *JNH*, 1804, p. 13.

20. The Church in New Hampshire never elected, in any convention, Bishop Griswold, but the standing committee on 5 March 1810 wrote the standing committee of Massachusetts that the New Hampshire convention was virtually 'under the superintendence of the Bishop of Massachusetts'. New Hampshire's standing committee went on to say that the convention at its next meeting would 'acquiesce in the choice you shall make and consider your Bishop as also the Bishop of Newhampshire'. *JNH*, 1810, p. 27.

21. *JNH*, 1844, p. 276–277. Chase's consecration took place 20 October 1844. Bishop Eastburn performed episcopal acts in New Hampshire, *pro tem. Ibid.*, p. 278.

tions from 1790. As printed, the journals of the annual conventions are incomplete and 'meagre'.[22] The unchristian and factional aspect of the early years of the Diocese of Vermont was a phenomenon of a past era by 1870, even if not by 1811. By interlarding the journals from 1790 to 1832 with biographical material and copies of letters and copies of town and parish records, the compilers produced in 1870 a work which contained 'material for a future history [of the diocese] and . . . contributed something for the benefit of the Church of the living God'.[23]

From a special convention of the Church in Vermont held at Middlebury 29 August 1810 came some creative measures in the history of the diocese. After naming the presiding officer and a secretary, the journal record stated that, 'It appearing to the Convention that the old Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State was lost, so as not to be found among the papers of the Convention, *a new one* was formed and adopted'.[24] When or where the old one was drawn up does not appear. Article 1 of the 'new one' stated that the diocese acceded to the General Convention.[25] The convention then listened to a reading of the previously drafted constitution of the Eastern Diocese in the United States. To this document, along with the member Churches in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, the convention gave its assent.[26] By this action of declaring itself a member of the

22. *The Documentary History of The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont, Including the Journals of the Conventions From the Year 1790 to 1832 Inclusive* (New York and Claremont, N. H., 1870, 418 pp.), cited as *JVT* with year and page number.

23. *JVT*, 1790, p. 3. The future history which followed the publication of the Journals in 1870 was a hundred-page article by the Rev. A. H. Bailey, D.D., 'A Historical Review of the First Century of the Church in Vermont, After its Partial Organization as a Diocese in Arlington, September 25, 1790', in *Journal of the Centennial, Being the One Hundredth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont, Being the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention Since the Full Organization of the Diocese* (Montpelier, Vt., 1890). No 'authentic' records of the conventions of 1791 and 1794, for example, appear. Inferential evidence supplies the place of the lack of records and journals for these two years. *JVT*, 1791, p. 12; 1794, p. 20.

24. *JVT*, 1810, p. 111.

25. Article 1 reads: 'The various Churches in the State of Vermont shall be considered as united under one Convention, in subordination to the General Convention of the United States.' *JVT*, 1810, p. 111.

26. *JVT*, 1810, pp. 112–113.

Eastern Diocese, Vermont secured the benefits of a diocesan in the person of Alexander V. Griswold. He stands first in the line of Vermont's bishops.

Two presbyters already had been chosen for the episcopal office by Vermont's convention, one in the convention of 1793, the other in a special convention in February 1794, of which 'no connected and authentic record . . . was made and preserved'.[27] Bishop Bass of Massachusetts received the election to the episcopal office in 1793, and accepted the office with the condition that his duties did not require his constant residence in Vermont.[28] The special convention of February 1794 opposed the conditional acceptance of Bass, and elected in his stead the Rev. Samuel Peters. Peters could not obtain consecration by either Anglican, French, or American bishops.[29] Vermont remained without a diocesan, therefore, until 1810.

Essential source material for a study of any phase of Vermont's history, diocesan history of course included, is a knowledge of the geography of the state gained from actually traveling north along the Connecticut River valley from Brattleboro to St. Johnsbury, then crossing the Green Mountains to Burlington on Lake Champlain, and then traveling south to Bennington. At Middlebury, some thirty miles south of Burlington, in May 1832, a convention of the Church elected the Rev. John Henry Hopkins as bishop of the diocese.[30] Vermont had withdrawn, in 1832, from the Eastern Diocese with the consent of the other member components and with the blessing of Bishop Griswold.[31] Bishop Hopkins, as Vermont's second bishop, served until his death on 9 January 1868.

Rhode Island's annual conventions, like Vermont's, dated from

27. *JVT*, 1794, p. 20. There is no journal as such for the year 1794, but from 'ascertained facts, and documents of various kinds . . .', the record survives in part.

28. *JVT*, 1793, pp. 16, 18.

29. *JVT*, 1794–1795, pp. 20–60. The difficult question of glebe lands was inextricably tied in with every convention, as income from glebe lands represented practically the entire support of the Church. A further complicating factor was the short-lived existence of the self-styled 'Convention of the Churches of the Western part of New-Hampshire and the Eastern part of Vermont [i.e., the Connecticut valley towns]'. *JVT*, 1801, p. 75; 1890, pp. 310–311, 315.

30. *JVT*, 1832, pp. 400–401.

31. *JVT*, 1832, pp. 385–390.

1790. This 1790 convention, held at Newport, voted to 'adhere to and obey . . .' the constitution and canons of General Convention of 29 September–26 October 1789.[32] The convention also declared that Bishop Seabury of Connecticut was 'Bishop of the Church in this State . . .'.[33] Five years later at Bristol, with Bishop Seabury presiding, the convention of 1795 adopted a constitution for the Church in Rhode Island.[34] The convention of 1798 amended the constitution; at the same time its members also chose Bishop Bass of Massachusetts for their diocesan. Ten days later Bass agreed to include Rhode Island within his episcopal charge.[35] Bishop Bass stands, therefore, as second in the line of Rhode Island's bishops. After the death of Bishop Bass in 1803 Benjamin Moore, bishop-coadjutor of New York, received the unanimous votes of the delegates to the convention of 1806.[36] Apparently he performed no episcopal functions in Rhode Island, for in 1809, at an adjourned session of the convention of that year, a committee voted to go along with the Church in Massachusetts in obtaining a bishop by means of a 'united Convention whenever it shall be held'.[37] As Griswold was elected in 1810 as bishop of the Eastern Diocese, he is Rhode Island's third diocesan. In Providence, in April 1843 following Griswold's death in the preceding February, a special convention elected the Rev. John Prentiss Kewley Henshaw, D.D., bishop of the diocese.[38] Henshaw was then rector of St. Peter's Church, Baltimore. He accepted the offer, thus becoming fourth in line of Rhode Island's bishops, but the first bishop which the Church in that state did not share with another diocese. Just prior

32. *Journals of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Rhode Island, from the Year A.D. 1790 to the Year A.D. 1832 Inclusive* (Providence, printed by order of the convention of 1858, 126 pp.), p. 6 (cited as *JRI* and year). As in the case of the printing of the early manuscript records of the Church in Massachusetts and Vermont, the committee which saw the Rhode Island journals through the press was faced with difficulties (hence uncertainties), with '*hand writing*', 'syntax', 'orthography', and 'inconsistencies', in making a 'correct transcript of the originals'. *JRI*, 1790, p. 3.

33. *JRI*, 1790, p. 6.

34. *JRI*, 1795, pp. 18–21.

35. *JRI*, 1795, pp. 24–26, 27–28.

36. *JRI*, 1809, p. 43. The committee numbered three: the Revs. Alexander V. Griswold (the future bishop) of Bristol, Theodore Dehon of Newport, and Nathan B. Crocker of Providence.

37. *JRI*, 1810, p. 27.

38. *JRI*, 1843, p. 10.

to the resolution for adjournment, this convention fixed the bishop's yearly salary at $400.[39] In fixing the bishop-elect's salary at this figure, it seemed as if the convention were guided by the rank in geographical area of the state in relation to its sister states.

Maine, a state of the Union and a diocese of the Church from 1820, is some twenty-seven times the size of Rhode Island in area. In 1820 Maine had but two churches, St. Paul's, Portland, and Christ Church, Gardiner.[40] Rhode Island had five churches at this time. About a month after Maine's admission into the Union, Bishop Griswold, by letter from Bristol, Rhode Island, called for a convention. This primary convention of the Diocese of Maine took place on 3 May 1820 at Brunswick.[41] At this meeting, the Church in Maine acceded to the constitution of General Convention; the convention also drafted 'a Constitution, Canons, and Rules of Proceeding . . . which were unanimously adopted'.[42] At this same convention, the diocese formally put itself under the episcopal care of Bishop Griswold, who thus became Maine's first diocesan. Since Maine was a district of the State of Massachusetts, no episcopal functions there are recorded as performed by either Bishop Bass or Bishop Parker.[43] Following Griswold's death and the immediately consequent dissolution of the Eastern Diocese, Maine's convention journal of 1843 noted that Bishop Eastburn had declined the request for his temporary episcopal supervision. This same convention then asked Bishop-elect Henshaw of Rhode Island to serve as bishop *pro tem*, which he did.[44] Then, at Portland, at a special convention on 4 October 1847, the Rev. George Burgess was unanimously elected Bishop of Maine.[45] He stands second in the line of

39. *JRI*, 1843, p. 10.

40. *Journals of the Annual and Special Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine for the First Twenty-One Years, 1820–1840* (Portland: printed for the convention, 1876), p. 2. Cited as *JME* and year. St. Paul's, Portland, was defunct by 1838; a portion of its parish became St. Stephen's. *JME*, 1839.

41. 'Prefatory Note', in *JME*, 1820, p. 4.

42. *JME*, 1820, p. 2.

43. 'Prefatory Note', in *JME*, 1820, p. 4. See also the *One Hundredth Anniversary of The Diocese of Maine, 1820–1920, Christ Church, Gardiner, Maine, May Thirtieth to June Third* (Gardiner, Maine, 1920), *passim.*

44. *JME*, 1843, pp. 8, 11; this convention was held on 12 July. Henshaw was consecrated Bishop of Rhode Island on 11 Aug. 1843. See also *JME* for 1845–1847, for accounts of Henshaw's acts.

45. *JME*, 1848, pp. 8, 9. Burgess was consecrated 31 Oct. 1847.

Maine's bishops, in spite of Bishop Henshaw's previous three-year supervision of the diocese.

By means of the Eastern Diocese—a federation of state-dioceses—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont obtained their first bishop, while Massachusetts and Rhode Island procured their third bishop, in the one person of Bishop Griswold.[46] That Bishop Griswold 'was unanimously elected by the Convention of the Church in Massachusetts . . .' does not appear in the printed journal for 1810. That Griswold was actually and regularly the third bishop of the diocese is evidenced by every episcopal act that he performed in Massachusetts after his consecration.

This outline account of the Eastern Diocese and of the early years of its four, and, after 1820, its five component dioceses, emphasizes two major points. The first point was that a very small group of clergy and laymen had a sustained devotion to the Anglican Church. This small group realized that to keep the Church functioning in any *one* of the four States of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, some sort of union was vital for individual diocesan survival. In other words, the Eastern Diocese was an expedient as necessary for the Church in Boston as it was for the Church in Vermont, which had no church structures. Attachment to the Church on the level of the individual's own parish primarily (and to the diocese, with which the parish was 'in union', only secondarily) was the dominant motive in the organization and maintenance of the Eastern Diocese. The second point was that the sustained devotion of a few persons to the Anglican Church was adherence, not to the Church of England, but to a Church that was distinctly American. The relationship of the former to the latter is usually described as the relationship of mother

46. Unanimous testimonials in favor of the validity of Griswold's election came from the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies on 22 May 1811, at general convention meeting in New Haven. The House of Bishops concurred in this action after a delegation from the Lower House, representing Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont gave the Upper House '. . . satisfaction, that the Rev. Alexander V. Griswold was unanimously elected by the Convention of the Church in Massachusetts, and so far as the election affected the Church in the other States, it was concurred in by their respective Conventions, and reported to their several constituents, and approved of by them'. Perry, *JGC*, I, 386.

and daughter, in other words two distinct personalities. However, but for the inheritance from the mother, i.e., the Book of Common Prayer and the consecration of bishops for the Church in America, the daughter would not have survived.

This survival in the Diocese of Massachusetts, then, was due primarily to the Book of Common Prayer, and no less importantly to the establishment of the American episcopacy. The history of the diocese could be written from the selected viewpoints of music, architecture, and geographical areas within the Commonwealth; it could also be related from the biographical standpoint of prominent laymen, clergymen, and, of course, from the lives and background of Bishops Griswold and Eastburn; it could be written from the parochial level. Confining himself to any one of these approaches, the historian could go deeply into the subject, but at a sacrifice of breadth and scope. With the attempt to keep in mind 'the total situation', and include something of the manifold approaches to the subject, the following study was undertaken.

CHAPTER II

ALTHOUGH the Diocese of Massachusetts dated its origin from the diocesan meeting of 8 September 1784, held at Boston, not until the consecration of Alexander Viets Griswold as Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, on 29 May 1811, did the Church in Massachusetts permanently emerge from its pre-Revolutionary status. Then some thirty years elapsed before the Diocese of Massachusetts again obtained its own diocesan with the consecration of Manton Eastburn, 29 December 1842. Eastburn's episcopacy ended with his death nearly thirty years later, 11 September 1872. During the six decades from 1811 to 1872, both clergy and laymen, acting through General Convention, but more importantly in the diocesan conventions and parishes, molded the church into the form it reveals today in the state's two dioceses, Massachusetts and Western Massachusetts.[1]

For nearly eight years, 1804 to 1811, the Diocese of Massachusetts was in the anomalous position of having no bishop. The Dioceses of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island suffered under a like handicap. However narrowly episcopal functions were viewed in these four dioceses, it was apparent that the Episcopal Church would soon be sapped of any significant vitality. To forestall any such possibility, clerical and lay delegates from the four dioceses met in a united convention at Boston on 29 May 1810. This convention drew up a constitution for an organization named the Eastern Diocese, comprising the four Dioceses of New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts (including the district of Maine),

1. The Diocese of Massachusetts was conterminous with the state boundaries until 1901, at which time the portion of the Commonwealth west of the eastern boundary of Worcester County, excluding the town of Southborough, was organized as the Diocese of Western Massachusetts.

and Rhode Island. At this same meeting Alexander Viets Griswold of St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island, was chosen bishop-elect of this newly formed Eastern Diocese.[2]

The new diocese in no way supplanted or limited the functions of its four previously existing components, but was a purely *ad hoc* creation to secure the episcopal offices of confirmation, ordination, and consecration of churches. Although the four dioceses had limits conterminous with their state boundaries, the weakness of the Church in the number of laymen and clergy, as well as the lack of money for building churches and for clerical salaries, combined with the scarcity of acceptable candidates for the episcopacy, necessitated the joint action of the four dioceses to maintain one bishop. The constitution of the Eastern Diocese provided for a standing committee of five clergymen and four laymen, and for a biennial convention, at which the bishop presided and presented his report on the state of the diocese. Beginning in 1823, the conventions were held annually. There were also the annual conventions of the four dioceses where the standing committees made their reports, where the committees for the following year were chosen, where new parishes presented their credentials for union, where delegates to General Convention and trustees of the General Theological Seminary were named, and where various financial matters, both parochial and diocesan, were reported, considered, and acted upon. Bishop Griswold usually attended each of these diocesan conventions, but acted only in an advisory capacity. The actual authority, administratively and financially, lay in the state dioceses, not in the Eastern Diocese. General Convention recognized the Eastern Diocese only as the see of its bishop, a see which had no authority, representation, or voting power apart from its bishop sitting in the House of Bishops. The four state dioceses were represented in General Convention by their appointed delegates, lay and cleric.

2. John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), contains the best account of the formation and growth of the Eastern Diocese. The journals of the Eastern Diocese including the addresses of Bishop Griswold provide invaluable supplementary material.

To the Bishop of the Eastern Diocese, however, the Diocese of Massachusetts, as well as the other three member dioceses, was beholden for his annual visit to each parish and his observations in regard to these parishes beyond his purely episcopal functions. Owing to the normal difficulties of travel and the lack of time and traveling expenses, and also to a lack of diocesan interest and a parochial outlook, clergy and laymen alike did not usually attend the annual state-diocesan conventions unless held within a few miles of their homes. Bishop Griswold, however, made it his business to visit every parish at least annually, unless prevented by illness, or difficulties within the parishes themselves. From his reports to the Eastern Diocese on these parochial visitations came a great source of information, a kind of clearinghouse of facts, which revealed to each state diocese conditions good and not good within their bounds. Shortly after Bishop Griswold was consecrated, he reported that 'In Massachusetts were thirteen churches, three of them of but little value, and very little used.'[3] The clergy numbered only six or seven. The diocesan report of Massachusetts to General Convention in 1811 stated that 'In some parts of this commonwealth, it is greatly to be lamented that the Churches are in a state of derangement and decay'; but adds, 'in other places the congregations have increased'.[4]

The dominant centers of the Church were in Boston and Newburyport. As the stronghold of the Church of England prior to 1776, as the capital of the state, and as an important commercial and shipping point, Boston had not only maintained the Church's services at Trinity Church during the Revolution, but had reopened Christ Church, although King's Chapel, the only other Church edifice in Boston, had been taken over by the Unitarians in 1784. To Boston, also, or to its immediate vicinity, came families from lesser seaports and from the country, headed by men who had

3. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Eastern Diocese, 1839, with the Bishop's Address* (Boston, 1839), p. 14 (hereinafter cited as *JED* with year date).

4. William Stevens Perry, D.D., editor, *Journals of General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785–1835* (published by authority of General Convention, Claremont, N.H., 1874, 3 vols.), I, 379.

made money during the Revolution. Such men found it to their advantage to carry on their shipping, commercial, financial, professional, and social interests in Boston. Some of these families allied themselves with the Episcopal Church in Boston.[5] Another factor in the numerical strength of the Church in Boston was the presence of Englishmen who settled in Massachusetts after the Revolution.[6]

In Newburyport, St. Paul's Church had already given to the diocese its first bishop, Edward Bass, and in 1811, the Rev. James Morss was completing seven years of his ministry of nearly forty years in this parish. Active Newburyport laymen included Tristram Dalton, Edward S. Rand, Sr., and Dudley Atkins Tyng.

The career of Dudley Atkins Tyng (1760–1829) in connection with the Diocese of Massachusetts early revealed the affiliation of business, professional, and social interests with Church affairs.[7] Born of a family whose 'ancestry had been, in every generation, members of the Church of England',[8] Dudley Atkins Tyng had chosen the Church as his vocation. Hindered by travel difficulties from going to England at the time of his graduation from Harvard in 1781, he turned to the study of law, supporting himself meanwhile by tutoring in a wealthy Virginia family.[9] Having been admitted to the Virginia bar, he returned to Newburyport in 1784, served for a time as a justice of the peace for Essex County, and opened a law office. Shortly after his return to Newburyport this gentleman, who had been born Dudley Atkins, legally added Tyng to his name in order to inherit a portion of the estate of a distant

5. Families notable in the diocese were those of Stephen Higginson (1743–1828), born at Salem, and Daniel Sargent (1731–1806), born at Gloucester.

6. Edward Augustus Newton (1785–1862) born at Halifax, Nova Scotia, was pre-eminent in this group.

7. The biographical facts of Dudley Atkins Tyng's life are found in John J. Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass., 1764–1905* (Newburyport, 1906, 2 vols.); important also are Francis Higginson Atkins, *Joseph Atkins, The Story of a Family* (n.p., 1891), and 'Biographical Notice of the Late Dudley Atkins Tyng, LL.D., by his Intimate Friend, John Lowell', Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, Third Series, II (XXII, 1830), 280–295; *Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, D.D., etc.*, compiled by his son, Charles Rockland Tyng (New York, 1890).

8. Tyng, *Tyng*, p. 17.

9. *Ibid.*

and childless relative, Mrs. Sarah Winslow of Tyngsborough. He moved to Tyngsborough after the death of Mrs. Winslow, but finding that his inheritance was agriculturally unproductive land, he turned his attention to the construction of 'the canal around the [Pawtucket] falls below Tyngsborough, which opened the free navigation of the [Merrimack] river from the upper country, and prepared the site and the power for the large and flourishing city of Lowell. . .'.[10] Returning to Newburyport about 1795, Tyng was 'Collector for the Port of Newbury' from that year till 1803. For the next eighteen years he lived in Boston, serving as the Reporter of the Massachusetts Supreme Court and preparing its decisions for publication.

Concurrently with Tyng's business and professional activities, he was continuously active in Church affairs. Chosen as secretary for the diocesan convention in its first two years of existence, 1790 and 1791, he was named to the standing committee of the diocese for 1797, and for 1799 to 1805.[11] At about the time he moved to Boston, or shortly after the death of Bishop Bass, 10 September 1803, Tyng was urged 'to receive orders first as a deacon and then as a presbyter', that he might be elected Bishop of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. 'With a modesty characteristic of himself, however,' says Bishop Griswold's biographer, 'he shrank from the proposal and finally rejected it.'[12] Nonetheless, the Church's interests remained close to his heart, and through his widespread acquaintance with churchmen he was largely responsible for securing from the Diocese of Massachusetts a delegation to a meeting in 1809 of lay and clerical delegates from Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, a meeting that led to the formation of the Eastern Diocese the following year.[13] Previously, in 1790, Tyng had been a member of the committee appointed by the diocesan convention of 1790 'to frame a Plan of an Ecclesiastical Constitution for the Government of the Episcopal Churches in this Commonwealth, and such other Churches as may be admitted and ac-

10. Currier, *Newburyport*, II, 267–268; Tyng, *Tyng*, p. 18.
11. *JM*, 1784–1828, pp. 24, 27, 32, 60, 70, 74, 78, 81, 89, 91, 96, 99, 101.
12. Stone, *Griswold*, p. 137.
13. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 146–147.

cede to the same . . .'.[14] It was noteworthy that the Church conventions were held close upon the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the state ratifying conventions following it. The Federalist Party and the Diocese of Massachusetts grew up together. Tyng was a Federalist and from President Adams received his re-appointment to the office of Collector of Customs noted above.[15]

Tyng married, in 1792, Sarah, daughter of Stephen Higginson of Salem and Boston.[16] Stephen Higginson was active in the Church and served on the standing committee of the diocese from 1796 to 1798, and from 1801 to 1806.[17] Tyng's home in Boston belonged to his father-in-law, and here his son, Stephen Higginson Tyng, later rector of St. George's, New York City, spent his boyhood.[18] It was at the home of Dudley Atkins Tyng, on the evening of 11 March 1820, that the wardens and vestrymen of St. Paul's Church, then in the process of building, first met.[19] Tyng was made senior warden of this newly formed society.

Although the parish of St. Paul's Church, Boston, was the fifth parish to be 'gathered' after the organization of the diocese, its history is a major part of the history of the diocese, and its influence, especially for the first thirty years of its life, was not limited to the diocese alone.[20]

The beginnings of St. Paul's Church centered in the desire of some members of Trinity Church for a church or chapel which would not only offer a better location for families living near the

14. Other members of this committee were the Rev. Dr. Walter, the Rev. Dr. Bass, the Rev. Mr. Fisher, Hon. Mr. Dalton, and Mr. Stockbridge. Dalton, Bass, and Tyng were from Newburyport. *JM*, 1790, pp. 20–21.

15. Tyng, *Tyng*, p. 19.

16. Currier, *Newburyport*, II, 268.

17. *JM*, 1784–1828, pp. 60, 70, 81, 89, 91, 96, 99, 101.

18. Tyng, *Tyng*, pp. 19, 23–26. In his later life Stephen Higginson Tyng wrote, 'To me, Boston was the abode of family connections, both of my father's and my mother's side, including a large portion of the best families in the town. It seemed to me that I knew every family in the place.' Tyng, *Tyng*, p. 25.

19. *Records of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church, Boston*, I, 1.

20. The other four parishes antedating St. Paul's were Trinity, Lenox (1793), St. Mary's, Newton Lower Falls (1812), St. James', Greenfield (1812), and St. Matthew's, South Boston (1816). A history of St. Paul's Church is yet to be written. *The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary . . . of St. Paul's Church, Boston. A Sermon by the Rt. Rev. Wm. Lawrence* (Boston, 1895) is brief but good.

Common, but would also provide preaching of a more evangelical note and less of a deistic tone than the sermons of Dr. John S. J. Gardiner, Trinity's rector.[21] The minister of the new church or chapel of ease was to be the assistant minister of Trinity Church on the Greene Foundation. At this time (1818), the trustees of the Greene Foundation had fixed on the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D.D., then rector of St. Michael's (Bloomingdale) and St. James' parishes in New York City, as the new assistant minister.[22] Jarvis, the only son of Abraham Jarvis, Bishop of Connecticut from 1797 to 1813, had a reputation for great learning; he thus would rival favorably the Rev. Messrs. N. L. Frothingham, Henry Ware, Hosea Ballou, and William E. Channing, all contemporary preachers in other Boston churches.[23] Jarvis valued his own services rather highly, and in considering the offer of Trinity Church, he made it clear that later (with the completion of a chapel of ease) he was to become associate rector, with authority, powers, and salary like those of Dr. Gardiner.[24] Bishop Griswold wrote him, saying, 'It has long been my wish that this Diocese [Massachusetts] might have the aid of your labours.' The Rev. Asa Eaton of Christ Church also urged Jarvis to come to Boston.[25]

Late in 1818, having discussed the terms of Jarvis' acceptance, the trustees of the Greene Foundation notified him that after a 'consideration of the expediency of erecting a chapel of ease to Trinity Church . . . it was decided by the majority present that it was incompatible with the trust confided to us—and here our labours ended'.[26]

Dissatisfaction of younger members of Trinity Church with its services, and the desire for a new religious society by members of Episcopal, Congregational, and Unitarian Churches brought about a group, early in 1819, who 'banded together to build a Church that would be of historic order, but modern in spirit; of English in-

21. Jarvis MSS, 1820 Letter.
22. William B. Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit: Episcopalian* (New York, 1859), V, 531.
23. Morgan Dix, ed., *A History . . . of Trinity Church . . . New York* (New York, 1905), III, 50.
24. Jarvis MSS, 1820 Letter.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Jarvis MSS.

heritance, but American in character'.[27] This group, acting through George Sullivan, asked Jarvis to be the rector of a proposed parish which would occupy a new church building, 'in a central situation'.[28] Jarvis received on 24 March 1819 a subscription paper for the proposed church bearing date of 12 March 1819, which showed less than fifty signatures; each signature represented a subscription to shares priced at $500 a share.[29] Most of the subscribers '. . . were persons who had been educated Congregationalists or Baptists, or the younger branches of Episcopalian families who had left the Ch[urch] and united themselves with the various dissenting Societies'.[30] As the society appeared to lack funds and had not yet become legally incorporated, Jarvis did not agree to serve as rector, but he did urge Sullivan to build the new church in 'Gothic style'.[31]

While Sullivan was begging Jarvis to assure him that he would accept the position of rector of St. Paul's, the General Theological Seminary was just being organized in New York City. Jarvis was appointed one of the two professors of the seminary, and was to have a salary of $2500 a year, and $500 'in lieu of a house'.[32] Fearing for the continuance of the seminary, and not having received his expected salary, on 6 May 1819, Jarvis gave his 'assurance that he would accept the rectorship of the church [in Boston] when it should be duly offered'.[33]

In Boston, the subscriptions for a new church were selling slowly. A building committee, however, had been named by the subscribers, and this committee had advertised for a site of land, 'about twelve thousand square feet'.[34] The present site of St. Paul's Cathe-

27. Lawrence, *Sermon*, pp. 12–13.

28. Jarvis MSS, 1820 Letter; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 April 1819.

29. Jarvis MSS, 1820 Letter; Lawrence, *Sermon*, p. 14.

30. Jarvis MSS, 1820 Letter.

31. [Samuel F. Jarvis,] *A Narrative of Events, etc.* (n.p., n.d.), p. 5.

32. [Samuel H. Turner,] *Autobiography of the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, D.D.* (New York, 1863), p. 81; Jarvis MSS, Letter from Jarvis to Rufus King, 6 Nov. 1819.

33. [Turner,] *Autobiography*, p. 93.

34. Robert Means Lawrence, M.D., *The Site of St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, and its Neighborhood* (Boston, 1916), p. 94; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 April 1819. Members of the building committee were George Sullivan (chairman), G. Odin, J. Odin, David Sears, Daniel Webster, F. Wilby, and William Appleton. William Shimmin, Treasurer, and Henry Codman, Secretary of the subscribers, were members *ex officio*. *Records of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church*, p. 15.

dral on Tremont Street was bought; the cornerstone of the new church was laid by Bishop Griswold on 4 September 1819.[35] The building committee disregarded Jarvis' suggestion to build in the Gothic style, and chose the neoclassic style of a Greek temple design, planned and executed by Alexander Parris and Solomon Willard. The material of the structure was granite, but the façade with its six columns of the Ionic order was of Acquia Creek sandstone.[36] Governor Brooks signed the act of the General Court creating the Proprietors of St. Paul's Church in Boston 28 January 1820, and on 11 March the wardens and vestrymen met at Dudley Tyng's house. The completion of the church lacked but a few months. As wardens, Tyng and Sullivan wrote Jarvis advising him that 'We have a very great satisfaction . . . in soliciting your acceptance of the Rectorship of our new Church. It was with this object in view that it originated and the anticipation of this has given alacrity and speed to its construction.'[37] Jarvis accepted this call, apparently on the basis of an annual salary of $2500, and moved his family to Boston, occupying a house 'next door to Mr. [William] Appleton' on Beacon Street.[38] Bishop Griswold consecrated St. Paul's on 1 July 1820, and in the Boston newspapers, which gave but few lines to local affairs other than politics or commerce, a column appeared describing the ceremony, in the *Columbian Centinel*, and a shorter account in the *Boston Intelligencer and Evening Gazette*.[39]

This new Episcopal church became very shortly a kind of test case in the community: would the church succeed greatly where it depended upon some half-dozen families or scions of families who favored the Anglican Communion, and upon converts from the Congregational and Unitarian Churches? During his first year as its rector, Jarvis rapidly built St. Paul's to a point where it rivaled

35. *Boston Intelligencer and Evening Gazette*, 4 Sept. 1819.

36. Walter H. Kilham, *Boston After Bulfinch* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), p. 21.

37. *St. Paul's Vestry Records*, 1, 2.

38. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative; Report of the Proceedings . . . for a Divorce etc.* (Hartford, Conn., 1839), pp. 62, 115.

39. *Columbian Centinel*, 1 July 1820; *Boston Intelligencer and Evening Gazette*, 1 July 1820.

Trinity and Christ Churches.[40] His audiences also heard his sermons for the first year at least 'with very great satisfaction and delight'.[41] But Jarvis himself disliked his parish in Boston from the beginning. He was unaware that a congregational, or more accurately, a proprietary form of polity governed the business end of both Trinity and St. Paul's parishes. Resentfully he pointed out, in 1825, to the proprietors of St. Paul's, that in New York parishes, 'all business is done by the Vestry, never by the parish at large [and] the Rector is made so essential a part of the Vestry that no business can be done without him'.[42] Another divisive factor in Jarvis' relations with the businessmen of his parish centered in the length of morning service. One member of the parish wished to shorten the Sunday morning service by ten minutes, 'which would have enabled him and others to get to the Post-Office in proper time for their letters—as soon as gentlemen of other congregations'.[43] Jarvis resisted abridging any word of the Book of Common Prayer on the grounds of his virtual oath of conformity given at his ordination. At the same time he implied his disapproval of Dr. John S. J. Gardiner, Trinity's rector, whose allegiance to the ritual of the prayer book and whose devotion to Episcopacy Jarvis strongly suspected.[44] In this question of rubrical conformity to the prayer book, Jarvis advocated the High Church position, which grew into the issue of more ceremony versus less ceremony some thirty years later under Bishop Eastburn. A small non-vocal group favored Jarvis' view of the Episcopal Church and even succeeded in hurrying his successor from the rector's place in St. Paul's. The deciding grievance, however, that severed Jarvis from St. Paul's involved money. Dr. Gardiner for several years prior to 1820 had received $2500 yearly as rector of Trinity Church. In inviting Jarvis to be rector of St. Paul's, the proprietors authorized the wardens and vestry to fix the terms of his salary. The amount agreed upon was

40. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 7; *JM*, 1821, 1822, pp. 153, 160, 187.

41. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 6.

42. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 27; it was only from the latter part of 1952 that the rector of Trinity Church, Boston, could preside at a meeting of the vestry.

43. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 78.

44. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, pp. 30–31.

$2500 yearly.[45] From the time of the consecration of the building, however, the society was in debt. The total cost of the church had been $96,859.31; not including the asset value of unsold pews after the church was opened, the debt of the parish was $69,807.31.[46] The annual income from pew taxes left only some $2000 for Jarvis' salary. For two years Jarvis relinquished five or six hundred dollars a year of his salary, but as the society could not reduce the total annual expenses below $2000, the vestry in the spring of 1824 was obliged to lower his salary still more, to $1500.[47] To this reduction Jarvis answered that '. . . consistently with what is due to you and to myself, I shall not be able to reduce my annual expenses much below the sum of $2,500'.[48] From this time on the differences between Jarvis and the proprietors acting through the vestry could not be settled. The proprietors wished Jarvis to resign, but he would not do so until his full salary had been paid for the last two years. In July 1825 a specially convened council of the Diocese of Massachusetts, at which Bishop Griswold presided until called away, terminated Jarvis' rectorship of St. Paul's, with the provision that the society pay him $5000, 'as the terms upon which he relinquish all his right and title to the Rectorship of that church'.[49] The society did not have that sum of money to pay Jarvis, and gave him a note payable one half in August 1826, and the balance in August 1827.[50] Technically this settlement left Jarvis still as rector of the parish, but in October 1825 Lucius M. Sargent paid Jarvis in cash the full amount of the note and closed the case.[51]

This disagreement of the newly organized St. Paul's parish with its first rector indicates how narrow a base the Episcopal Church had in Boston in 1820.[52] Jarvis, it is true, had built up a congrega-

45. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, pp. 8, 10.
46. *St. Paul's Vestry Records*, I, 16–18.
47. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, pp. 15–17.
48. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 18.
49. [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, pp. 104–105.
50. *Records of the Proprietors of St. Paul's* I, 58.
51. *Ibid.*
52. That residents of Massachusetts of social prominence and wealth were sponsoring St. Paul's induced Jarvis to write in April 1825: 'The circumstances relating to the establishment of St. Paul's Church, have produced a deep interest in its welfare among the clergy and laity of our Church throughout the United States. It is no exaggeration to say that it has been for a while the most prominent object of attention of all the churches in the Union. Its affairs, therefore, are generally known and canvassed.' [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 6.

tion approximating Trinity's in numbers, but the pews had not sold satisfactorily, and when Jarvis left, the church languished and appeared to be on the market for purchase by some other denomination. As Lucius M. Sargent had come forward to aid the society in freeing itself of Jarvis, so now John Collins Warren, M.D., took over as senior warden.[53] He had allied himself with St. Paul's because of a reasoned determination 'to adopt the Orthodox or Trinitarian form of worship'.[54] Also, many of his friends, whom he knew socially and professionally, had joined the new parish.[55] Fearing that St. Paul's 'would soon be sold for a Unitarian church, as Unitarianism was then making rapid advances', Dr. Warren agreed to run the affairs of the church along with William Appleton, who was then junior warden.[56] Of this period at St. Paul's Dr. Warren wrote:

> For about two years, I supplied the pulpit with such ministers as I could find; and sometimes we were obliged to resort to laymen to read the service. I superintended the Sunday School, the Missionary Society, and the church music. But the great object in view was to get a rector of real piety and decided talent. For a long time this was impracticable; but at last, through the Rev. Dr. Wayland, who was then a Baptist minister in the town, I was informed of Rev. Mr. [Alonzo] Potter, who had lately been chosen President of the new Episcopal College in Geneva, N. Y. It was a hard matter to prevail on Mr. Potter to come here; but still harder to obtain the consent of the Bishop of New York, who considered Mr. Potter's continuance in the college to be very important. By letter, I introduced myself to the Bishop of New York, and, by a protracted correspondence, convinced him, that, if St. Paul's Church fell through, it would have a bad effect on Episcopalianism in this State, and perhaps in New England. Finally, the consent of all

53. Edward Warren, M.D., *The Life of John Collins Warren, M.D., Compiled Chiefly from his Autobiography and Journals* (Boston, 1860, 2 vols.), I, 162.

54. Warren, *Warren*, I, 161.

55. Dr. Warren describes the first parishioners of St. Paul's as consisting of 'some of the members of Trinity Church, and many gentlemen of the town not Churchmen, among whom were Hon. Mr. Webster, George Sullivan, H. G. Otis, David Sears, and a large division of Mr. Mason's family, some of whom afterwards became members of the church, and others not. About half a dozen families left Brattle Street [Church], not by concert, but by a simultaneous movement.' Dr. Warren married Susan Powell Mason, daughter of Jonathan Mason who became associated with the Episcopal Church after he moved from New Hampshire to Boston. Warren, *Warren*, I, 63, 161.

56. Warren, *Warren*, I, 162.

parties was obtained; and Mr. Potter was inducted into office on the twenty-ninth day of August, 1826. This was the opening of a new era for St. Paul's, and the Episcopal Church generally in this part of the country.[57]

The debt of the parish had been liquidated by building and selling tombs under the church, and by the sale of pews on a tax-exempt basis. This work was accomplished 'by the judicious management of Mr. William Appleton, Mr. Stephen Codman, and others . . .'.[58] Headed by David Sears, who gave the proprietors $1000 for six pews exempt from taxes and assessments, a number of men interested in the success of St. Paul's gave some $9000 in the same way.[59] Withdrawal of income-yielding pews lessened, of course, the annual income of the church, but the further sale of pews under a new rector promised well for the future.

57. Warren, *Warren*, I, 162–163. That the lasting tenure of St. Paul's Church by an Episcopal society was by no means a foregone conclusion even in 1821 was shown by the terms of a gift of church silver—terms to which the vestry agreed—whereby the silver was to belong to St. Paul's 'only so long as the [society] shall continue to worship according to the forms of the Church . . .'. Were the church used for any other than an Episcopal form of worship, the gift was to revert to some other Episcopal church designated by the bishop of the diocese. *Vestry Records*, I, 35–37, 103.

58. Warren, *Warren*, I, 161.

59. *Record of Deeds and Gifts of David Sears, of Boston, Establishing the Sears Fund of St. Paul's Church* (printed from the original documents. Cambridge [Mass.], 1867), p. 37; [Jarvis,] *A Narrative*, p. 14 n.

CHAPTER III

OUTSIDE of Boston in the eastern part of the diocese, the Church slowly revived. Members of the various parishes learned that they alone, without the benefit and help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, must finance and support the Church. St. Paul's, Newburyport, had built a new church, which was completed in October 1800. Masonic ceremonies marked the laying of the cornerstone the previous May.[1] Laymen from this parish, including Tristram Dalton, Dudley A. Tyng, Lewis Jenkins, and Tristram Coffin, served as deputies to the annual diocesan convention, or served on the standing committee or as delegates to General Convention.[2] Although the parish numbered less than fifty communicants in the early years of the century,[3] the congregation was doubly blessed in its two great rectors of the period: Edward Bass, who served the parish as rector from 1753 to 1803 (the last six years of which period he was also Bishop of Massachusetts), and James Morss, who held the office of rector from 1803 to 1842. On a visit to St. Paul's in 1822, Bishop Griswold cited a Sunday evening service as a model for all churches in the Eastern Diocese.[4] Of the other two churches in Essex County, St. Peter's, Salem, quickly revived once it reopened in 1782, but St. Michael's, Marblehead, 'seemed to be almost extinct'.[5] South and west of Boston, St. Andrew's, Hanover, had built a new church, which Bishop Griswold consecrated 13 June 1811, as first of his several consecrations in

1. John J. Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass., 1764–1905* (Newburyport, 1906, 2 vols.), I, 261.
2. *JM*, 1784–1828, pp. 7, 26, 85.
3. *JM*, 1784–1828, p. 116.
4. John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 282.
5. William F. Gavet, *Historical Sketch of St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts* (n.p., [1908]), p. 13; *JED*, 1832, p. 8.

Massachusetts.[6] This new building, costing about $5000, represented the efforts of the parish of St. Andrew's in Scituate with help from dissatisfied members of the First Parish of Hanover.[7] This newly expanded parish had a small endowment, which in 1817 was invested in shares of the State Bank in Boston.[8] The senior warden was Horatio Cushing, of the notable Cushing family of Scituate.[9]

A few months after Bishop Griswold had consecrated St. Andrew's, a new Episcopal society was gathered in the village of Newton Lower Falls, 'situated at the extreme limits of Newton, Needham, and Weston'.[10] Geographical remoteness from any other religious society dictated the site of this parish in the growing mill village; while a desire to commute their 'church rates' and have them paid to a mutually acceptable and constituted leader of the House of God induced the members of the parish to prefer the Episcopal form of worship to that of the older established churches in their precincts.[11] Typical of newly formed Episcopal parishes were the first services held in the district schoolhouse, and the decade of lay readers which marked the time before the parish, named St. Mary's, could afford a rector. The 'ardent zeal of Shubael Bell, Esq., Senior Warden of Christ Church, Boston', and other

6. Samuel Cutler, Rector, *The Origin, Progress, and Present Condition of St. Andrew's Church, Hanover, M[as]s* (Boston, 1848), p. 14. *JM*, 1813, p. 120. Among other men who kept the Anglican tradition alive in the Bridgewater, Hanover, Scituate, and Marshfield districts was Dr. Charles Stockbridge (1734–1806), son of Dr. Benjamin Stockbridge, who was one of the outstanding physicians in eastern Massachusetts. Dr. Charles Stockbridge inherited the Stockbridge Mansion at Scituate; he attended many state-diocesan conventions and served on the standing committee in 1794. *JM*, pp. 7, 20, 37, 45; Samuel Deane, *History of Scituate, Massachusetts, from its first settlement to 1831* (Boston, 1831), p. 344.

7. John S. Barry, *A Historical Sketch of the Town of Hanover, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1853), p. 79.

8. Cutler, *Origin*, p. 6. The amount was $463.37.

9. Horatio Cushing (1776–1836) was a first cousin once removed of Chief Justice (Mass.) William Cushing, later Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court. Deane, *Scituate*, pp. 255–256; Barry, *Hanover*, pp. 289–290.

10. Alfred L. Baury, Rector, *A Sermon Preached in St. Mary's Church, Newton Lower Falls, Easter, 1847* (Boston, 1847), p. 10.

11. Baury, *Sermon*, p. 10. Baury stated that Elbridge Ware had come under the influence of the Episcopal liturgy while on a visit to Morristown, New Jersey, and wanted to have a similar form of worship in his home town of Newton Lower Falls. *Sermon*, pp. 10–11.

devoted laymen enabled the society to build a church.[12] The cornerstone was laid by the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and seven months later, 29 April 1814, Bishop Griswold dedicated the structure to the service of Almighty God.[13] As soon as it could provide a salary, the parish called Alfred Louis Baury as its first rector, in 1822. As in the case of St. Paul's, Newburyport, St. Mary's enjoyed a long rectorship of nearly thirty years under Baury.[14] St. Mary's parish and the manufacturing of paper grew up together at Newton Lower Falls. The paper industry commenced about 1790; it held chief place among other industries in Newton for nearly a century. Directing this industry were the Curtises, Crehores, and Rices. Some of these families were members of St. Mary's parish.[15]

During the very time that St. Mary's was organized, a parish was being formed in the western part of Massachusetts. In Greenfield, at the confluence of the Green and Deerfield Rivers with the Connecticut, five persons gathered together to establish an Episcopal church on 24 September 1812.[16] With easy access from Connecticut by river, the western portion of Massachusetts had felt the influence of the Episcopal Church from that state, rather than from the vicinity of Boston. Portions of Berkshire County, indeed, had earlier been under the jurisdiction of Connecticut's Bishop Seabury.[17] The Reverend (later Bishop) Philander Chase, rector of Christ Church, Hartford, presided at the laying of the cornerstone of the small wooden edifice in Greenfield, which was named St. James' Church.[18] Bishop Griswold consecrated the completed church 31 August 1814, and in the following year, on 26 May, he

12. Baury, *Sermon*, p. 14.

13. Francis Jackson, *History of Newton* (Boston 1854), p. 163; S. F. Smith, D.D., *History of Newton* (Boston, 1880), p. 478.

14. Baury also held the position of Secretary of the diocesan conventions for ten years, 1833–42. See *JM* for those years.

15. Smith, *Newton*, pp. 271–272; Baury, *Sermon*, p. 18.

16. Francis M. Thompson, *History of Greenfield* (Greenfield, Mass., 1904, 2 vols.), I, 488.

17. William B. Sprague, D.D., *Annals of the American Pulpit: Episcopalian* (New York, 1859), v, 274–275. The Episcopal form of worship followed the Connecticut valley north, as West Claremont, N. H., has the oldest Episcopal church building in that diocese. Otis F. R. Waite, *History of Claremont, N. H.* (Manchester, N. H., 1895), pp. 99–100; *JNH*, 1950, p. 59.

18. Thompson, *Greenfield*, I, 468, 493.

ordained Titus Strong to the priesthood and at the same time inducted him as rector of St. James'.[19] Strong, a candidate for holy orders in 1813, 'came to officiate at the exercises of the infant church . . . [and] officiated as a lay reader at services in a room fitted up in the house of John E. Hall . . . for the use of the small congregation'.[20] Strong assumed charge of the young parish with trepidation, but his humility was only one phase of his many strengths of character, and he served the parish of St. James' ably for forty years.[21] At the same time he acted as rector in two other small parishes: at Trinity in Montague, south of Greenfield on the east bank of the Connecticut, and site of the Montague Canal, and at St. John's in Ashfield, some fifteen miles west of Greenfield. The members of Trinity and St. John's Churches numbered together only a score of families. In 1822 the parish at Montague practically merged with St. James', but Ashfield kept its separate organization.[22]

In Berkshire County, there were three parishes in 1811: Lenox, Lanesborough, and Great Barrington. These three parishes owed much to a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Rev. Gideon Bostwick. He carried on his priestly duties after this society withdrew its support, and it was said of him, 'that wherever he hitched his horse, there a church sprang up'.[23] The societies of Great Barrington and Lanesborough were organized before the Revolution, but Lenox did not form a parish until 1793. Its first minister was Daniel Burhans, who was presented to Bishop

19. [David] Willard, *History of Greenfield* (Greenfield, 1838), p. 117. Titus Strong, born in Brighton, Mass., in 1787, descended from John Strong, 'first ruling elder in the church at Northampton', Mass.

20. Thompson, *Greenfield*, I, 488. St. James' was the second religious society in Greenfield. Prior to its organization, in 1812, parish meetings and town meetings were virtually the same thing, as in many small New England towns.

21. A link between the parishes of St. Mary's and St. James' is established by the fact that Baury, rector at the former parish, studied for the ministry under Strong at Greenfield in 1818. Thompson, *Greenfield*, I, 489; II, 1194–1195; Smith, *Newton*, p. 479.

22. *JM*, pp. 146, 155, 161. Bishop Griswold hailed the promise of St. James', Greenfield, in his report to the convention in these words, 'Mr. Strong is settled in Greenfield over a Church, which, tho but recently organized, is remarkably prosperous and flourishing, and for zeal and prompt attention to every duty, entitled to much praise.' *JED*, 1816, p. 29.

23. *JM*, 1851, pp. 87–88; *History of Berkshire County* (New York, 1885, 2 vols.), II, 193–196, 113–117, 13–17.

Seabury at Middletown, Connecticut, for ordination in June 1793, as the churches in Berkshire County were then considered as part of the Diocese of Connecticut.[24] The smallness of the towns combined with the lack of any adequate financial aid, once the churches were built, kept the parishes relatively unimportant in the Diocese of Massachusetts. The short tenure of ministers and rectors injured these parishes.[25] The climate and comparative isolation of the towns, especially in the 'mud season', discouraged the hardiest minister in his attempts to serve a church nearly empty except in the summer season.

The over-all view of the condition of the Diocese of Massachusetts as it existed within the Eastern Diocese in 1816 appeared to Bishop Griswold to be in good order. He reported that the standing committees of the various dioceses cared for the occasional problems arising within their limits, which left 'but little of ordinary business to be done at our Conventions'.[26] Bishop Griswold never wearied of stressing the enduring need of every diocese, but especially that of Massachusetts, for ministers.[27] There were always more parishes than clergymen with which to staff them. To keep the vacant parishes alive, he recommended that a congregation which had a settled minister should encourage this minister to preach 'in the small vacant parishes', while the congregation should 'accept, during the absence of their ministers, the service of candidates; or that divine service be performed, and an approved sermon read, by some pious member of the Church; or even, if necessary, that a Church be shut for Sunday'.[28] Lay preaching was the order of the day in the early years of the nineteenth century. This fact was due not alone to the scarcity of ministers, but to parishioners whose 'object being to make choice of a man to be "set over them in the Lord," . . . wished to test not only his ability to *read* the sermons of others, but his ability to *write* sermons for himself'.[29] In this ministering of lay-

24. *JM*, 1851, pp. 87–88; Sprague, *Annals*, v, 274, 411.

25. Lenox had eight different ministers during the years 1793–1841. *History of Berkshire County*, II, 195.

26. Griswold, 'Address', *JED*, 1816, p. 9.

27. *JED*, 1816, p. 13; 1831, p. 19; 1832, pp. 7–8.

28. *JED*, 1816, p. 13.

29. Stone, *Griswold*, p. 66.

men, or candidates for holy orders, appeared the compromise with the basic desire of small and new religious societies to build their worship about the Book of Common Prayer on the one hand, and their unwillingness or inability to maintain a settled minister on the other. In its geographical position, which placed Massachusetts east and north of the comparatively strong, wealthy, and well-organized Dioceses of New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and south of the sparsely settled and weak Dioceses of New Hampshire and Vermont, the diocese could hardly have survived without compromises in its early years. Where there had been no Episcopal society prior to the Revolution, as was the case in Greenfield and Newton Lower Falls and as was to be the case in Lowell, the Church was more vigorous and unified than in the instances of churches founded through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as were the parishes of St. Michael's, Marblehead, Christ Church, Boston, and St. Paul's, Dedham.[30] Although the clergy and some laymen of the diocese were alert to the competition for the unchurched by the Congregational, Unitarian, and the growing Baptist and Methodist groups, Bishop Griswold was aware that gainful occupations by the men of the community offered the most competition in recruiting the ministry. In comparing the country and city parishes in 1822, he noted that 'If "one goes his way to his *farm*, rather than his Saviour, still more frequently does another to his *merchandize*." '[31] In 1823, nineteen of the twenty-three parishes in the diocese reported the number of communicants at 1056. The churches in Boston or within fifteen miles of it provided for seventy per cent of the number.[32] The comparative weakness of the churches beyond Boston and the seaboard area was obvious.

As important as the seaboard had been in the earlier days of the diocese, the inland city or town combined with the port of Boston was to be even more influential. With the rise of manufacturing in Massachusetts coincident with the War of 1812, a need for the power available at the fall line (or even west of it), became apparent.

30. Perry, *JGC*, II, 24; *JED*, 1833, p. 10.
31. Stone, *Griswold*, p. 282; Perry, *JGC*, II, 25–26.
32. *JM*, 1823, p. 179. The population of Massachusetts was 520,000 in 1820.

At the very time that manufacturing was getting its foothold in the state, the small, predominantly agricultural towns were suffering from the effects of the 'tide of emigration . . . continually and strongly setting [out] to the West and South . . .' from the state.[33] The Episcopal Church had no enduring plan for bringing the gospel to rural areas, but it did urge upon candidates for holy orders the specific task of ministering to the 'large number of English families, most of whom were educated in the principles of our common faith, and are attached, from habit at least, if not from higher motives, to the externals of our worship . . . [and who were] scattered over the whole state'.[34] The Church was not notably successful in gathering in English immigrants drawn to Massachusetts by the development of manufactures, but one Church of England mill agent did help to establish the now venerable parish of St. Anne's, in Lowell.

In February 1824, Kirk Boott, agent of the recently formed Merrimack Manufacturing Company, organized the Merrimack Religious Society.[35] The Merrimack Company's early history reveals how closely associated with some of the leaders of the Diocese of Massachusetts was a group of Boston businessmen. Once the site at the falls in the Merrimack River had been chosen, the next step was to buy the company, The Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on the Merrimack River, which owned the Pawtucket Canal.[36] As noted above, Dudley Atkins Tyng initiated the idea of the Pawtucket Canal, though he never realized any great profit from it. The Merrimack Company as an operating company under The Proprietors of Locks and Canals on the Merrimack River, among whose five original subscribers was Kirk Boott, bought the canal, and at once set to work to build a dam and mills. Persons who were to be 'permitted to subscribe' to Merrimack Company stock were, among others, Tyng and William Appleton, both leaders in St. Paul's,

33. *JED*, 1835, p. 15.
34. Perry, *JGC*, II, 25–26.
35. Charles Hovey, 'History of St. Anne's Church', *Contributions of the Old Residents' Historical Association* (Lowell, 1885), III, 309.
36. Nathan Appleton, *Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell* (Lowell, 1858), p. 23.

Boston, at this time.[37] Through his friendship with Patrick Tracy Jackson, Kirk Boott became agent of Merrimack mills, and as such he 'was personally responsible for the erection of St. Ann's Church which bore the name of his wife'.[38] That St. Anne's was to be an Episcopal Church was determined by Kirk Boott, who 'being himself an Episcopalian, was desirous of trying the experiment whether that service could be sustained'.[39] To William Appleton, also, went some credit for promoting the Episcopal Church in Lowell, as he aided Boott in securing 'a young clergyman, then in Deacon's Orders, named Mr. Edson, about taking charge of this new missionary work'.[40] Edson noted in his diary under date of 6 March 1824, ' "Saturday. Came up to Chelmsford the first time for the purpose of supplying the people in the Merrimack Manufacturing Corporation with preaching and divine service. Rode up with Mr. Boott and was hospitably entertained at his house. Sunday—preached. Monday—Returned to Boston in stage." The next Sunday he came again and was invited to remain.'[41] A month after Theodore Edson took over the religious society, the directors voted to build a stone

37. Appleton, *Introduction and Origin*, p. 22. The directors chosen on 27 Feb. 1822 were Warren Dutton, Patrick T. Jackson, N. Appleton, William Appleton, Israel Thorndike, Jr., and John W. Boott. Bishop William Lawrence noted in his 75th anniversary sermon at St. Anne's that 'a majority of the Directors of the Merrimack Company were Unitarian'.

38. Charles Cowley, *Illustrated History of Lowell* (Boston, 1868, rev. ed.), p. 45; Kirk Boott, 'Address', *Proceedings . . . at the Centennial Observance . . . of Lowell* (n.p., 1926), p. 31. Kirk Boott married Ann Haden of Derbyshire, England, in 1818; the church in Lowell was incorporated as St. Anne's. Alfred Gilman, 'Kirk Boott', *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, II, 7.

39. Appleton, *Introduction and Origin*, p. 24. In a sermon preached at the 75th anniversary of St. Anne's, Bishop William Lawrence said in part, 'Men of high intelligence, of worldly wisdom and religious character, wishing to found one Parish in a new city for all the people, founded a Church of the Prayer Book. They knew that in the Prayer Book were the order, reverence and spiritual instruction which would command the respect of the people. They appreciated that a Church of the Prayer Book could not be turned by the whim or eccentricity of any Pastor or Vestry from its sober or reverent ways. They were confident that the rights of the laity and their part in the Common Prayer would be respected.' Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., Sermon, *Memorial of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Laying of the Corner Stone of St. Anne's Church, Lowell, Mass., May 21, 22, 23, 1899* (n.p., 1899), p. 18.

40. Lawrence, Sermon, p. 15.

41. Quotation from Edson's diary in Rev. Wilson Waters, *History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts* (Lowell, 1917), p. 711.

church, 'not to exceed a cost of nine thousand dollars'.[42] The rector received his salary of $800 annually from the Merrimack Company; the Company in turn taxed each operator $1.50 a year 'as required by the constitution and laws' of the Commonwealth. This situation endured until 23 November 1827, when the Company leased, without rent, the church and parsonage to the society, which paid the rector from then on.[43] At the consecration of St. Anne's by Bishop Griswold, 16 March 1825, Kirk Boott 'was present during the whole ceremony, and delivered to the bishop the keys of the church', who then placed them upon the altar.[44] The 'experiment' thus initiated by Kirk Boott was a success because of the fitness of Edson for the post of rector. He entered into the civic life of the mill town, which caused a break between him and Boott over the former's advocacy of building two public schools in Lowell at a total cost of $20,000. Boott threatened to withdraw his membership in, and support of, St. Anne's were the appropriation voted. It was voted, and true to his word, Boott allied himself, though only temporarily, with the Unitarian parish, 'but his doing so did not ruin or even sensibly injure the [Episcopal] parish'.[45] Edson's ministry at St. Anne's was lifelong, a period of nearly sixty years. In 1824, the year he took charge at Lowell, Edson had married Rebecca Jane Parker, daughter of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Parker.[46] Lowell was then an outpost of the Episcopal Church in addition to being wholly rural. Strongly under the influence of S. F. Jarvis, then St. Paul's rector, Edson developed into a firm churchman,

42. Appleton, *Introduction and Origin*, p. 24.

43. Hovey, *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, III, 312. In collecting 'church rates' from its employees, as well as in building a church, the Merrimack Company acted as a town incorporated by the Commonwealth, but the employees had no voice in 'townmeeting', and the 'greater number of the workers were not Church of England people'. Boott, *Lowell Centennial*, p. 12.

44. Hovey, *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, III, 163, 311.

45. [Benjamin F. Butler,] *Butler's Book* (Boston, 1892), p. 54; Frederick W. Coburn, *History of Lowell and Its People* (New York, 1920, 3 vols.), II, 192; Coburn, 'Kirk Boott', *D. A. B.*

46. The arguments in favor of a Boston society girl marrying a clergyman with a living in rural New England appear in a letter from S. D. Parker to Rebecca at Bedford St., Boston, dated 30 March 1824. The writer notes that Edson's salary of $600 at Chelmsford is equal to $1200 in Boston. He also notes that Edson's prospects and talents are good.

and regarded the outcome of Kirk Boott's ecclesiastical experiment as of great significance under the circumstances which surrounded its origin. For this reason he refused to have his name considered, in 1828, for the post of Dr. Gardiner's assistant on the Greene Foundation; he also turned down calls to churches in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and in Middlebury, Vermont, and would not consent to be a candidate for president of Burlington College, Vermont.[47] Edson clearly felt a diocesan responsibility. He served the diocese many years in various capacities including that of one of the examiners of General Theological Seminary in New York City.[48] He was named to the standing committee of the diocese nine times in the years from 1826 to 1863. He represented the Diocese of Massachusetts in General Convention thirteen times from 1826 to 1864.[49] His great capacity for friendship which even exceeded his churchmanship appeared in an incident related by a fellow clergyman:

> I have myself seen, on a Christmas Day, the Rev. Dr. Blanchard, Congregationalist, the Rev. G. F. Cox, Methodist, and the Rev. Dr. Miles, Unitarian, kneeling at St. Anne's chancel and receiving from Dr. Edson's hands the bread and wine of the Holy Communion. For many years, to my personal knowledge, it was Dr. Edson's practice . . . to invite 'all persons present, members of other churches, of whatsoever denomination, to remain and partake with us of this holy sacrament'.[50]

Edson was graduated from Harvard in 1822, when the College was predominantly Unitarian. He naturally inclined to the Episcopal Church as his grandfather and great-grandfather had given time and money to the Church at Bridgewater, first through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and later through the diocese.[51] Both Jarvis and Gardiner influenced Edson in his life's work, while

47. Rev. Edward Cowley, D.D., 'Rev. Theodore Edson, S.T.D.', *Contributions of the O.R.H.A.*, v, 269–270; Miss E. M. Edson, 'Memoir of Rev. Theodore Edson, S.T.D.', *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, iv, 209.

48. Edson, 'Edson', *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, iv, 214.

49. *JM*, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, 1832, 1840, 1861, 1862, 1863. Edson served as a delegate to General Convention in 1826, 1827, 1829, 1832, 1838, 1843, 1844, 1847–49, 1862–64. See journals of these years.

50. Cowley, 'Edson', *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, v, 274.

51. Nahum Mitchell, M.H.S., *History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater, etc.* (Boston, 1840), p. 51.

the latter 'introduced him to the daughter of Bishop Parker, and afterwards married him to her'.[52]

Few Harvard students in the early days of the diocese, however, had any such inherited tradition of the Church of England as had Edson. Harvard, however, numbered among its pre-Revolutionary alumni the first two bishops of the Diocese of Massachusetts, Bass and Parker. The third Harvard graduate to become a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was Theodore Dehon, Class of 1796. Dehon was the son of a French emigrant who settled in Boston, and who brought his family up in Trinity Church. The younger Dehon was 'the first scholar in his class' at Harvard, but spent the first years of his ministry in Rhode Island.[53] St. Michael's, Charleston, South Carolina, called him as rector in 1809, and in 1812 that diocese named him as its diocesan. He died there in 1817. Harvard admitted his scholarly ability despite his religious persuasion and he gave the Phi Beta Kappa annual oration at Cambridge in 1807.[54] An intimate friend of Dr. Parker, Dehon knew how little regarded was the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts during the years following Parker's death in 1804. He acted as lay reader at minister-less Christ Church, Cambridge, immediately after his graduation in 1796.[55] Another outstanding scholar at Harvard, Class of 1817, was Stephen Higginson Tyng, son of Dudley Atkins Tyng. He studied for the ministry at first under Jarvis at Boston, then later at Bristol, Rhode Island, with Bishop Griswold. Immediately after his ordination in 1821, Tyng accepted a call to St. John's Church, Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, and never afterward served a parish in New England.[56] When Tyng left New England in 1821, Bishop Griswold had already begun to complain of the lack of ministers in the Eastern Diocese. Bishop Hobart of New York refused to receive Tyng on account of his New England type of Episcopalianism, 'and very

52. Cowley, 'Edson', *Contributions of the O. R. H. A.*, v, 269.

53. C. E. Gadsden, D.D., *An Essay on the Life of the Right Reverend Theodore Dehon, D.D.* (Charleston, 1833), pp. 41–48, 71.

54. Sprague, *Annals*, v, 425–433; Gadsden, *Dehon*.

55. Sprague, *Annals*, v, 426.

56. Tyng, *Tyng*, pp. 33, 43, 57.

frankly . . . advised [him] to go farther to the South'.[57] Outside of urban parishes such as Boston, Salem, and Newburyport in Massachusetts, and Bristol and Newport in Rhode Island, the Eastern Diocese offered no living to a man of education, of social standing, and even of moderate wealth such as Tyng possessed. The only alternative for service lay in outposts such as Greenfield, Lowell, and Portland, Maine.

To provide an Episcopal Church for the forty-odd Harvard students of that belief while in college (thus excusing them from attending the College Chapel), and to stimulate interest in the Episcopal Church among other students, Dudley Atkins Tyng presented a resolution at the annual diocesan convention in 1824. The plan called for the adequate repair of Christ Church building in Cambridge. The purpose of the plan was twofold. First, a restoration of the building would benefit the few but staunch parishioners in Cambridge. Second, a flourishing Episcopal Church would place Episcopal students at no disadvantage while at Harvard. Leaders of the diocese realized that it was 'a matter of general concern to the Episcopalians in this Commonwealth, and elsewhere in the United States, that their sons should enjoy equal advantages at the University with the sons of those of other denominations of professing Christians'.[58] Christ Church had closed at the beginning of the Revolution, and Nicholas Hoppin, a much later rector, noted, 'Perhaps no Church in the country was more broken up.'[59] Partial repairs enabled a small congregation to use the church building beginning in 1790, but the group could not afford an ordained minister. Occasional services were led by lay readers; the very infrequent sacraments were rightly and duly administered only by visiting clerics, usually from Boston.[60] In their extremity to provide a rector for Christ Church, 'friends of the Church, in and about Boston', had Dudley A. Tyng write to Bishop Griswold in the

57. Tyng, *Tyng*, p. 51. Tyng married sixteen-year-old Anne DeWolfe Griswold, a daughter of the bishop, 5 Aug. 1821. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–61.

58. *JM*, 1824, p. 184.

59. The Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, Rector, *A Sermon on the Reopening of Christ Church . . . with a Historical Notice of the Church* (Boston, 1858), p. 46.

60. Hoppin, *Sermon*, pp. 54, 58–60.

spring of 1816 to prepare him for a call from the vestry. The vestry called him to be rector, but after thinking over the offer for a year, the Bishop refused.[61] Finally, in 1822, church services ceased entirely.[62]

In the convention of 1825, the plan consequent upon Tyng's resolution of 1824 was adopted. Financial aid to restore the church was sought by a plea 'to be published in the Gospel Advocate, as well as to be circulated separately in connection with a subscription paper'.[63] A general appeal was made to all members of the Episcopal Church. Specific appeals were made to 'the President and Fellows of Harvard University', and to our 'brethren of other denominations, who may be disposed to contribute towards this benevolent object'.[64] The request for funds from Harvard and other denominations rested on the finding that Episcopal students totaled 'one-seventh of the whole number . . . a large proportion of which were from the southern and middle states'. The report stressed the point that 'as a literary institution Harvard University is most highly valued in the southern states'.[65] The attainments of Bishop Dehon provided a notable instance of what Harvard could do for Episcopal students, but actually his literary abilities and brilliance of oratory characterized him more than his religious profession.[66] The appeal asked for $3000 as 'the least sum which will be required to put the building in good repair'. The fund-raising committee included two clergymen, Jarvis and Asa Eaton, rectors respectively of St. Paul's and Christ Churches, Boston.[67] Among other gifts, the

61. The bishop as rector of Christ Church would have built up the parish. At the same time he would have been nearer to the center of the Eastern Diocese than was his church at Bristol, R. I. His yearly salary was to have been $1500, at least two-thirds of which would have been paid by the Diocese of Massachusetts. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 231–236; S. Francis Batchelder, *Christ Church, Cambridge, Some Account of its History and Present Condition* (Cambridge, 1893), pp. 57, 59.

62. *JM*, 1824, p. 184.

63. *JM*, 1825, p. 193.

64. *JM*, 1825, pp. 198–199, 201.

65. The report added, 'The students are not allowed to come to Boston to attend divine service; and the Episcopalians, their own Church being closed, are required to attend constantly at the College Chapel.' This fact was an 'impediment' preventing citizens of other states from feeling the 'veneration which is cherished here' toward Harvard. *JM*, 1825, pp. 201, 202.

66. *JM*, 1825, p. 200.

67. *JM*, 1825, p. 203. Other members were Thomas Perkins, S. D. Parker (Trinity, Boston), Tyng, Francis Wilby, and

Harvard Corporation gave $300, Jarvis $200, and Asa Eaton $100. The amounts subscribed exceeded the goal. A year later, 30 July 1826, the church reopened with the Rev. George Otis, 'College Professor of Latin' at Harvard, as minister.[68] Christ Church then named Otis for the rectorship, as Bishop Griswold had finally advanced him to the priesthood after a deaconate of eight years. The Corporation of Harvard, however, forbade Otis to accept the position of rector. He died early in 1828.[69] Thomas Winthrop Coit was instituted rector in 1829, but the parish did not really take root until the thirty-five-year ministry of Nicholas Hoppin, 1839 to 1874, thirty-two years of which he was its rector.[70]

The Diocese of Massachusetts made its first great effort in the reopening of Christ Church, Cambridge. This effort revealed that the financial resources of the diocese could be relied upon when a diocesan issue had to be met. It also showed that the laymen of the diocese recognized a problem and took the lead in solving it. Yet in the early decades of the nineteenth century the problems were almost wholly parochial. Had the clergy had the deciding voice in diocesan affairs, a minister would have been trained in an Episcopal school, and then sent out to form a parish wherever there appeared any promising material for such a society. The laymen, however, had a largely parochial outlook. They promoted the interests of a new parish only when two or three had already gathered together

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James Merrill (all of St. Paul's, Boston), and James Bowdoin, Treasurer. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

68. Hoppin, *Sermon*, p. 61; *JM*, 1826, p. 209; Josiah Quincy, L.L.D., *The History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1840, 2 vols.), II, 389.

69. Rt. Rev. George Burgess, *List of . . . Order of Deacons, etc.* (Boston, 1875), p. 10 (number 411); *JM*, 1827, p. 211; Hoppin, *Sermon*, p. 62. Contemporary comments at Otis' death stated that 'the Clergy have been deprived of an active fellow-laborer, and the Church over which he was placed, of an affectionate and faithful pastor', and that 'the University [lamented] a lover of generous learning, and the community a zealous defender of virtue and religion'. *JM*, 1828, p. 225; Hoppin, *Sermon*, p. 63. Otis was a nephew of the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis. The first Harvard graduate to serve as rector of Christ Church was Prescott Evarts, rector from 1900 to 1929. *Harvard College, Class of 1881, Fiftieth Anniversary* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 118.

70. Gardiner M. Day, *The Biography of a Church* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), p. 49. Coit graduated from Yale in 1821. *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University* (New Haven, 1924), p. 154. Hoppin was a Brown University graduate. *The Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764–1934* (Providence, R. I., 1936), p. 144.

as an Episcopal society. Although the Book of Common Prayer set the form of worship, and although the bishop made his annual visitations, the polity of the Church in Massachusetts was predominantly congregational or a kind of home rule. In securing aid for Christ Church outside the membership of the diocese, the Harvard Corporation was 'disposed to concur in the measure, and give aid as far as in their power'.[71] This response rested on the belief that to the extent the Church was good for the community, it was good for Harvard and vice versa.

71. *JM*, 1825, p. 199.

CHAPTER IV

WHILE the Diocese of Massachusetts was securing a place of worship for Episcopalians at Cambridge, the spread of manufacturing by water power was transforming the sites of colonial gristmills and sawmills into comparatively large manufacturing settlements. A year before the organization of St. Anne's, Lowell, an Episcopal church was founded in the township of Leicester. Occupying the hilly plateau country forming the watershed between the coast and the Connecticut valley, Leicester contained a number of shallow ponds, connected by small streams. By damming the ponds and flooding meadow lands, an all-year-round water supply was made available. The gradient of the streams flowing through these ponds is some three hundred feet in just a few miles. This circumstance meant a continuous and adequate supply of water power.[1] This water power was put to work operating a woolen mill in 1821, by James Anderton, a woolen manufacturer from Lancashire, England.[2] Located on the French River in the southern part of Leicester, this mill was bought about 1825 by Joshua Clapp, and became one unit of the Leicester Manufacturing Company.[3] The

1. Emory Washburn, *Historical Sketches of the Town of Leicester, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1860), pp. 20–25, 29–38. The U. S. Geological Survey maps, 'Leicester, Massachusetts Quadrangle' especially, show the terrain clearly.

2. Washburn, *Leicester*, pp. 31–32.

3. Joshua Clapp had been 'brought up' by Amos Lawrence, was an active businessman and bank director in Boston; he built at Leicester the then 'handsomest country house in the County'. He married Lucia (Lucy) Denny, daughter of the Hon. Nathaniel Paine (Thomas) Denny, the second president of the Leicester Bank. Amos A. Lawrence, 'Diary' (entry for 15 Nov. 1841) at the Massachusetts Historical Society; Washburn, *Leicester*, p. 32; *The Boston Directory, 1826*, p. 325; Caroline Van D. Chenoweth, *History of the Second Congregational Church and Society in Leicester, Mass.* (Worcester, 1908), p. 41; *Vital Records of Leicester, Mass.*, pp. 135, 248. The other units of the Leicester Mfg. Co. were at the village of Saxonville, on the Sudbury River, in Framingham. The Saxonville Religious Society, which was the mill church, was Unitarian from its organization in 1827

settlement which grew up about the mill received the name of Clappville, known today as Rochdale. To provide religious services for this community, Anderton, Hezekiah Stone, Samuel Hartwell, and Francis Wilby organized Christ Church, Clappville, in 1823.[4] Stone gave the land. The church was built, and consecrated in May 1824, and became the first Episcopal church in Worcester County.[5] During the early 1830s, Clapp gave generously for the beautifying of the grounds about the church, for alterations making a 'neat and handsome appearance' of the church in the inside, and for the church library.[6] The founders of Christ Church were English, 'and attached to the national church'.[7] They furthered the interests of Christ Church not only as a parish, but also as a member church of the diocese. Hence the names of Anderton, Wilby, and Hartwell appeared as delegates to the Massachusetts diocesan conventions in the first decade of the parish.[8] Clapp, although the largest benefactor, once the church was built, owned a pew in the recently organized Second Congregational Church (Unitarian), and spent much time with its young minister, Samuel May.[9] Clapp's regard for Christ Church was purely parochial. At the same time, the Diocese of Massachusetts viewed the welfare of Christ Church as resting with the parish itself. As the mills operated successfully or expanded, the parish throve, but when business declined or fire consumed a manufacturing plant, labor moved away, and the parish languished.[10] Christ Church thus offered no stable parochial career for a rector, but rather a challenge as a missionary post. To overcome the transitory character of the parishioners, Henry Blackaller, rector of Christ Church in 1836, suggested hopefully, 'that manufacturers will by and by find it necessary to come to some maximum of labor, for all their departments, by which they would

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until 1833, when it became Congregational. J. H. Temple, *History of Framingham* (Framingham, 1887), pp. 357, 368.

4. Wilby had been a member of the building committee of St. Paul's, Boston.

5. The Rev. Abijah P. Marvin, 'Leicester', *History of Worcester County, Mass.* (Boston, 1879, 2 vols.), I, 624.

6. *JM*, 1835, pp. 24–25.

7. Marvin, 'Leicester', *Worcester County*, I, 624.

8. *JM*, 1825, p. 190; 1826, p. 206; 1829, p. 4.

9. Chenoweth, *History*, p. 172, and *passim*.

10. *JM*, 1836, p. 38; 1850, p. 91.

obtain a more permanent hold of their operatives, and bring about a more settled state of society'.[11] Clapp had lost most of his fortune before his death in 1841.[12] No one succeeded him as benefactor in the parish, and in 1851 it numbered but forty-two communicants.[13]

Another small church founded without any diocesan help grew up in the township of Sutton, also in Worcester County. David Wilkinson, a Quaker from Rhode Island converted to the Episcopal Church, bought a power site on the Blackstone River in 1823. He built a mill for spinning and weaving cotton; also he erected successively a tavern, a bank building, a parsonage, private dwellings, 'many tenements for the mill help', and finally, in 1828–29, St. John's Episcopal Church.[14] The Sutton Royal Arch Chapter together with the Olive Branch Lodge of Sutton and neighboring lodgers laid the cornerstone of St. John's Church 'agreeably to ancient Masonic usages'.[15] David Wilkinson as 'proprietor' of this industrial settlement in south Sutton gave it the name of Wilkinsonville. The building of St. John's Church was the capstone of Wilkinson's career at Sutton, as that very year (1829) 'the financial affairs of the proprietor of the village were such that the property [excluding the church and grounds] passed into the hands of Samuel Slater and sons'.[16] The first rector of St. John's Church was the Rev. Daniel LeBaron Goodwin, who served for twenty-nine years in this one parish.[17] The cost of the pews in St. John's ranged from $32 to $71, averaging about $50.[18] In his first diocesan report, Goodwin described the status of his church as follows:

Although there was scarcely an Episcopalian in the place [Sutton] at the time of commencing our service, yet has a considerable congregation al-

11. *JM*, 1836, pp. 38–39.
12. A. A. Lawrence, 'Diary'.
13. *JM*, 1851, pp. 77–78.
14. Rev. William A. Benedict, A.M., and Rev. Hiram A. Tracy, *History of the Town of Sutton, Massachusetts, from 1704 to 1876, etc.* (Worcester, 1878), pp. 422–423; *Historical Notes Relating to St. John's Church, Wilkinsonville, Mass.*, compiled by the Reverend Samuel Hodgkiss, S.T.B., Rector (n.p., 1900), pp. 9, 41; *JM*, 1830, pp. 29–30.
15. Hodgkiss, *Notes*, quotes the Worcester *Massachusetts Spy* of 2 July 1828, p. 21.
16. Benedict and Tracy, *Sutton*, p. 536; Hodgkiss, *Notes*, p. 9.
17. Goodwin, a graduate of Brown in 1822, had three brothers in the Episcopal ministry, and one in the Congregational. He married a daughter of William Wilkinson. Miss Sarah L. B. Goodwin. 'Sketch of D. L. B. Goodwin', *Sutton*, p. 479.
18. Hodgkiss, *Notes*, p. 28.

ways attended. And since the erection of the Church, almost all the families of the neighbourhood and of the manufacturing village have taken pews, and become favorable to our mode of worship.[19]

Next year, the migratory character of the mill operatives reduced the congregation, as it had in Clappville. The few settled parishioners were engaged in agriculture rather than factory work, or at least were not dependent upon daily wages for a living.[20] Goodwin recognized the intrusive nature of the Episcopal Church in these small villages. His comment of 1832 referred to his own parish, but it applied equally well to all of Worcester County: 'The Church is new to many of the people, and there is some reluctance to examine into its merits, but as many as have been willing to become acquainted with its doctrine and mode of worship are manifestly increasing in attachment to it.'[21] The mill parishes in central Massachusetts owed their existence to businessmen. These businessmen or proprietors were devoted to the Episcopal Church, but when they died, moved away, or lost their fortunes, the parishes shrank to a few loyal families, and were important to the diocese only in helping the Church to keep a toehold in their vicinity.[22]

Another largely industrial parish was organized in 1833 in the Merrimack valley thirty miles seaward of Lowell at Amesbury. The Anglican Church, supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had held church services in the Pond Hills or southwest section of Amesbury some twenty-five years after the establishment of St. Paul's, Newburyport.[23] Nothing permanent followed this first introduction of the Church. The prelude to the present parish occurred in 1812, when Ezra Worthen, Paul Moody, and

19. *JM*, 1830, pp. 29–30.

20. When the Slater interests became proprietors of Wilkinsonville, they 'proved to be good friends of the Parish, making an annual contribution to the expenses, besides keeping the Church and Rectory painted and in repairs'. Hodgkiss, *Notes*, p. 9; *JM*, 1853, pp. 88, 85. Contemporary diocesan reports present a less favorable picture of the Slater aid to the Church.

21. *JM*, 1832, p. 30.

22. In 1835, a group in Webster, ten miles from Clappville, asked Mr. Blackaller to preach, which he did 'to a full and very attentive audience in the Baptist Church, which was kindly proffered for the occasion'. *JM*, 1835, p. 25.

23. Joseph Merrill, *History of Amesbury* (Haverhill, 1880), pp. 209–210.

others began the manufacture of woolen goods here.[24] Then the little and winding Powow River was dammed where it flowed out of Lake Gardner, providing a descent of seventy feet in a mile before it joined the Merrimack. By 1822, there were woolen and cotton mills, a flannel manufacturing plant, and a nail factory.[25] In 1833 the Rev. James Morss of St. Paul's, Newburyport, held services of the Episcopal Church near the mills, which led to the organization of St. James' Church in that year.[26] Inability to find a minister for the infant parish, and 'other discouraging circumstances . . . cast a chill over the zeal of those who were best able to maintain it' and the parish appeared to be a failure.[27] Then the operatives in the mills 'determined to contribute liberally to the building up of this decaying parish'.[28] They could not have done this building up without some help from beyond the parish. To enlist the aid of the diocese in their behalf, Henry M. Davis, minister in 1836, and still in deacon's orders, reported the plight of the operatives in the *Diocesan Journal* as follows:

> Surely, they who have left their native country and mother Church, in order to contribute by their skilful labors to the wealth of our native manufacturers, should not plead in vain for the blessings of the Gospel and the ordinances of the Church in which they have been nurtured. A great portion (if not a great majority) of the supporters of the Church in this place, are from the old countries some of them brought from thence by the manufacturing companies, with a view of introducing certain improvements in these establishments, and who can estimate the wealth that has been saved and rolled into the coffers of their employers through the introduction of these very improvements! When they then ask a small pittance to enable them and their children to enjoy the religious privileges and ordinances which they relinquished in their native land, in order to labor industriously to increase the riches of our country—of our fellow Christians—of our fellow churchmen, shall they plead in vain?[29]

The next year, 1837, 'through the aid of friends abroad', the young

24. D. Hamilton Hurd, compiler, *History of Essex County Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, 1888 [1887], 2 vols.), II, 1517.
25. Merrill, *Amesbury*, pp. 338–339.
26. *JM*, 1836, p. 27.
27. *JM*, 1836, p. 28.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.* Davis had been ordained deacon only in July 1835. Rt. Rev. George Burgess, *List of . . . Order of Deacons, etc.* (Boston, 1875), no. 1072.

deacon reported the parish more deeply rooted and nearer self-support. He also had come to realize 'like that of others in manufacturing villages, [the parish] will continue to fluctuate with the times'.[30] The statements by the rectors and ministers of the mill-town parishes indicated that the proprietors of the mills organized the parishes on the restricted base of their business enterprises alone. The appeal which the churches might have made to the whole community was limited by the close association of plant and parish.[31] The nearness of the Episcopal Church to the Church of England also made the Church suspect in the smaller Massachusetts towns.

30. *JM*, 1837, p. 21.

31. Historians of the Church have pointed out that Bishop Hobart of New York founded strong parishes in central and western New York State as the parishes grew up with the towns. The great wealth of Trinity Church in New York City provided Hobart with the funds to establish churches in the frontier region. Massachusetts churchmen had the funds, but the Diocese did not have the means of enlisting these funds in its behalf. Lay control of the diocese rather than clerical control, or congregational polity rather than diocesan direction guided the Church in Massachusetts. Cf. *JED*, 1837, pp. 9, 10; *JED*, 1839, p. 10; Charles C. Tiffany, D.D., *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1916 [1895]), pp. 386–387, which applies especially to Massachusetts.

CHAPTER V

WHILE the woolen and cotton industries were indirectly accomplishing missionary work for the diocese in central and eastern Massachusetts, a group of men, headed by Edward Augustus Newton, was organizing the parish of St. Stephen's, Pittsfield. Henry Van Schaack, a native of Kinderhook, New York, and a Loyalist who bought property and settled in Pittsfield during the Revolutionary War, had objected to paying the tax for a new meetinghouse in 1790. Educated in the Dutch Reformed Church, he had turned to the Episcopal Church. As an Episcopalian he had led the dissenters, including importantly the Baptists, in their suit to recover taxes collected for this new meetinghouse. The suit was successful, and Episcopalians, Shakers, Baptists, and a few other individuals, were declared exempt as 'Dissenters from Congregationalism' and free from 'paying a Ministers tax'.[1] Lenox was the seat of Episcopal worship, but Van Schaack and Tertullus Hubby, both of Pittsfield, were in 1815 incorporators of 'The Episcopal Religious Society of Lenox, Pittsfield, Lee, and Stockbridge'.[2] This

1. J. E. A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield, (Berkshire County), Massachusetts, from the Year 1734 to the Year 1800* (Boston, 1869), pp. 421–422, 450–465.

2. Smith, *Pittsfield, 1734–1800*, p. 458. The struggle over paying 'rates' did not enter significantly into the history of the Diocese of Massachusetts, except in instances, like Pittsfield, where a 'dissenting' religious group did not have a church or minister resident in the town. Large towns such as Boston, Salem, and eventually Newburyport, supported the churches by renting pews, and thus were not subject to church rates. Although the Baptists and Episcopalians were one in their wish to be exempt from the usual church rates, socially and politically they were not allied. Baptists in general favored the politics of the Jeffersonian Republicans and were anti-English; while the Episcopalians were usually Federalist and pro-English. The Baptists belonged more to the wage earner or small farmer class; the Episcopalians were oftener in business and were comparatively large landowners. See Susan Martha Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691–1740* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1914), pp. 160–166, 179–180, 189; Jacob C. Meyer, *Church and State in Massachu-*

society apparently ceased when Van Schaack returned to Kinderhook. The impetus for an Episcopal Church remained in Pittsfield, however, in the person of Edward Augustus Newton, who, in 1815, had married the daughter of John Chandler Williams, a lawyer and owner of a store in Pittsfield.[3]

Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on 1 May 1785, Edward A. Newton was the son of Henry Newton, a Loyalist who left Boston with General Gage in 1776, and his wife, Ann Stuart, a sister of the painter, Gilbert Stuart.[4] Henry Newton died at Halifax in 1802; the following year, Ann Stuart Newton brought her family to Boston, where Edward went to work for Stephen Higginson & Co., in the East India trade. He spent some months in Madras, 'handling thirty thousand dollars entrusted to him', and learned much of the India trade.[5] After a voyage to St. Domingo, he returned to Boston in 1808 and 'found himself worth fifteen thousand dollars . . . before he was 24 years old'.[6] After more voyages to the East Indies, he set up a commission business in Boston in 1815, and married Lucretia Tileston Williams of Pittsfield that same year. Having lost in the commission business most of his accumulated property, he sailed for Calcutta in 1816, where he became 'a partner in an agency house . . .'.[7] It was in Calcutta that 'Mr. Newton's commercial success secured a fortune, which enabled him to retire from business in 1825, affording him ample means of support, enabling him at the same time, to enjoy the luxury of a large philanthropy'.[8] It was in Calcutta, too, that he met the Rev. Mr. Thomason, Church of England, through whose influence 'he was led to devote himself to the service of God, in an open profession of his faith in the Saviour'.[9]

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setts, from 1740 to 1833 (Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1930), *passim*, but especially p. 195.

3. Smith, *Pittsfield, 1734–1800*, pp. 448–449; George M. Randall, D.D., 'A Man of God', *A Commemorative Discourse on the Death of the late Hon. Edward A. Newton, etc.* (Boston, 1862); *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XVII (1863), 185.

4. *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XVII, 185; J. E. A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield . . . 1800 to 1876* (Springfield, 1876), pp. 407–408.

5. Randall, *Newton*, p. 19.

6. Randall, *Newton*, p. 20.

7. Randall, *Newton*, p. 22.

8. *Ibid.*

9. 'Open profession' refers here to Newton's baptism. Randall, *Newton*, pp. 23–24. Newton probably made some trips to Boston from Calcutta as he was on the committee of subscribers and a vestryman of St. Paul's, Boston, in 1821. *Records of the Vestry of St. Paul's Church*, pp. 19–20.

Newton always maintained strict observance of the Sabbath, 'both at sea and on the land'; he had an abiding interest, also, in the Anglican missionary work, and in the missionaries sent to Bombay and elsewhere in India by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions and the American Baptist Mission.[10]

Newton settled in Pittsfield in 1825, where he took a lively interest in both the First and Second Congregational Churches.[11] Within a few years, however, knowing many persons who would unite for the support of an Episcopal Church, Newton together with Henry Hubbard and Benjamin Luce organized the parish of St. Stephen's in June 1830. Reminiscent of Kirk Boott's action at Lowell was the naming of the parish by Newton, 'after the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, a zealous young clergyman and a close friend of Mr. Newton'.[12] St. Stephen's Church was built at a cost, exclusive of the land, of $4700. Bishop Griswold consecrated the church on 7 December 1832.[13] The first Mrs. Newton's parents had become churchmen in 1830, and her mother, Mrs. Lucretia Williams, gave an organ to the new church, 'built by Goodrich of Boston, and costing five hundred and seventy-five dollars'.[14] The Rev. Edward Ballard, a graduate of General Theological Seminary, became the first rector in 1831. Mr. Newton then established a fund 'for the support of public worship', of $5000, of which he gave $4500, and secured another $500 from 'an East India gentleman, whose sons were educated in Pittsfield . . .'.[15] Newton's benefactions to the church, including a parsonage, exceeded $20,000; gifts of other persons did not exceed 'some hundreds' of dollars.[16] St. Stephen's parish did not alone claim Newton's interest in the Church. In 1825 he had represented Trinity Church, Lenox, in the diocesan convention, and from that date he served on many impor-

10. Randall, *Newton*, pp. 25–27.

11. Smith, *Pittsfield, 1800 to 1876*, p. 450; Kate M. Schutt, *The First Century of St. Stephen's Parish, 1830–1930* (Pittsfield, 1930), p. 17.

12. Schutt, *St. Stephen's*, p. 15. Mrs. Lucretia Tileston Newton died in 1836 at Rouen, France; in 1838 Newton married Miss Susan Cleveland Tyng, daughter of Dudley Atkins Tyng, and sister of the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng. *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* XVII, 185.

13. Schutt, *St. Stephen's*, p. 30.

14. Smith, *Pittsfield, 1800 to 1876*, p. 456.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Randall, *Newton*, p. 30.

tant diocesan committees of the Eastern Diocese, and General Convention committees.[17] Newton and his wife established the 'Thomason Scholarship' of $2000 at General Theological Seminary in 1835, in memory of the Anglican cleric whom Newton had met in Calcutta.[18]

The prominent part Newton took in diocesan affairs followed directly after the work done by Dudley Atkins Tyng, whose daughter Newton married in 1837. Tyng, whose personal fortune did not at all compare with Newton's, had a grasp of the problems of the Church in nearly forty years of service to the diocese, which no other layman equalled. His devotion to the episcopacy made him a trusted friend of the clergy. His clear knowledge of how the Church, as a newly created diocese in Massachusetts, could survive and grow, gave him first rank as a layman of the Church. Thus he brought clergy and laymen together into a diocesan group which made the Church possible in Massachusetts and in the Eastern Diocese as well. Once the Church was solidly established in Boston and its vicinity, inland parishes would be founded as towns grew up west of Boston.

The new Episcopal Church in Pittsfield, 150 miles from Boston, sprang from the association of its founder, E. A. Newton, with a group of Episcopalians in Boston, and from his experiences in Calcutta. Newton, with his large fortune, devoted his time and money to the Church as a philanthropist and a backer of Christian missions. Tyng, closer to the Anglican communion than Newton, worked for the more institutional and doctrinal aspects of the Church, while Newton supported the Church as more of an agent of charity and teaching Christianity in general. Politically, both men were Federalists, and Newton later agreed with 'the views and measures of the whig party . . .'.[19] Above political and social ties, however, was the bond between them of their devotion to the Book of Common Prayer.

Although Newton took up his permanent residence in Pittsfield

17. *JGC* for 1838–56, and 1862, p. 185; Perry, *JGC*, II, 113, 225, 350, 557, 612; *JM*, 1828–62, *passim*; *JED*, 1836, p. 16.

18. Perry, *JGC*, II, 680.

19. Smith, *Pittsfield, 1800 to 1876*, p. 408.

in the year that the Pontoosuc Woolen Mfg. Co. was incorporated there, he had nothing to do with its organization; he took the course of 'wisely investing his capital', and 'resisted the temptation to make more, thereby often losing all and having to start over'.[20] The Rev. Edward Ballard, rector of St. Stephen's, served there till 1847, when the 'unfortunate termination' of his rectorship 'excited great feeling in the parish . . .'.[21] By then, however, the parish had taken root in Pittsfield.[22]

20. Randall, *Newton*, pp. 40–41.

21. Smith, *Pittsfield, 1800 to 1876*, p. 458.

22. Pittsfield in the 1840s appeared to a new resident as 'a small mountain town . . . a farming and manufacturing community . . . an active and restless people . . . a keen intellectual atmosphere . . . the rigors of an almost Canadian winter'. John E. Todd, compiler and editor, *John Todd, The Story of his Life Told Mainly by Himself* (New York, 1876 [1875]), p. 314.

CHAPTER VI

BEFORE 1840 some dozen other parishes were organized. In one-half of these parishes, the Massachusetts Clerical Convocation gave some help in the form of providing missionary ministers to conduct the services. Bishop Griswold had urged the banding together of the clergy of eastern Massachusetts about 1830 to form an association not alone for aid to new and struggling parishes, but for the welfare of the Church in Massachusetts as a whole.[1] In 1833 a group of clergymen formed a purely voluntary association, with the foregoing name. It was short-lived, but it provided the all-needed sustenance for the young parishes of New Bedford, Roxbury, Fall River, Springfield, Andover, and Lynn.[2] The revival of the Episcopal tradition in Taunton in 1820 was due in part to the traditional religious tolerance of Rhode Island. This open-mindedness toward all Christian sects spread north and east to the small towns in Bristol County, Massachusetts, where the dwellers had to be convinced that 'a Churchman is not a monarchist—a Bishop a would-be Pope, and the whole Episcopal Church a secret worker for foreign domination. And [even] where the intention is not charged, the tendency is alleged . . .'.[3] It was noteworthy that the Roman Catholic parish of St. Mary's, New Bedford, preceded the Episcopal society there by sixteen years, while in Fall River the two societies were established the same year, 1836.[4] In the suburbs of Boston, at Lynn

1. An association of the Episcopal clergy of Rhode Island had organized, for missionary purposes, 'The Rhode Island Convocation', about 1830. This group helped to strengthen the Church within the Diocese of Rhode Island. John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 378.

2. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 378–389.

3. Rev. N. T. Bent, *A Discourse Historical of St. Thomas' Church, Taunton, Mass.* (Taunton, 1844), pp. 18–19.

4. [Jesse Fillmore Kelley and Adam Mackie,] *History of the Churches of New Bedford, etc.* (New Bedford, 1869), pp. 8, 102, 109; Arthur Sherman Phillips, *The Phillips History of Fall River* (Fall River, 1945, 3 vols.), II, 25, 30.

and Roxbury, two Episcopal societies were founded, in 1836 and in 1833, respectively. Christ Church, Lynn, received the special attention of Bishop Griswold and the Massachusetts Clerical Convention, but it took hold firmly only after the St. Paul's, Boston, group of Episcopalians began summering in Lynn and Nahant.[5] St. James', Roxbury, in the first report of its first rector, the Rev. M. A. DeW. Howe, noted 'about 60 children of German immigrants' in the Sunday school.[6] Then a country parish, St. James' today is in a densely populated section of Boston.

Springfield and Northampton, both in the Connecticut valley, had earlier been indifferent, if not hostile, to the establishment of Episcopal societies, but Bishop Griswold consecrated St. John's, Northampton, in 1830, and Christ Church, Springfield, in 1840.[7] Titus Strong of Greenfield had led services in Springfield during his first years at Greenfield, but not until the rectorship of John Cotton Brooks in 1878 did the parish attain its great rank. Northampton saw Episcopal services first in 1826, led by the bishop's son, the Rev. George Griswold. Especial interest centered in these early efforts of the Church, as the congregation was made up 'principally of a portion of the students connected with the Round Hill School, and a few Episcopalians from other States . . .'.[8] The Rev. Mr. Chaderton, minister at St. John's in 1836, went up the Connecticut valley to Amherst in search of converts, but found there only a father and his two daughters who were 'anxious to be confirmed and to join our communion in this place'.[9] Amherst was to wait another thirty years for an Episcopal church. Finally, two parishes founded before 1840, St. Paul's, Otis, Berkshire County, in 1828, and Grace Church, Boston, never took permanent root. St. Paul's parish has historical value only in the physical survival of

5. *JED*, 1835, p. 11; 1837, p. 8; 1838, p. 18. *JM*, 1837, p. 23; 1838, pp. 28–29; 1839, pp. 32–33. Lynn had organized a self-styled 'Episcopal Society' (St. John's Church) in 1819, which Bishop Griswold believed to be a 'lively branch of the True Vine', but it became Unitarian in a few months. *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn* (Lynn, 1882); *JM*, 1819, p. 143.

6. *JM*, 1833, pp. 30–31.

7. James C. Strong, *John Cotton Brooks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1909), p. 46. *JM*, 1830, p. 29.

8. *JM*, 1830, p. 29.

9. *JM*, 1836, pp. 31–32.

its church building.[10] Grace Church, Boston, now extinct, was outstanding in its thirty years of existence for its two great rectors, Thomas March Clark, later Bishop of Rhode Island, and Charles Mason, son of Jeremiah Mason and son-in-law of Amos Lawrence. The origin of Grace Church centered in the conversion of the Rev. Mr. Sabine, a Congregationalist with a church in Piedmont Square, Boston, to the Episcopal Church; part of his former parish followed him. The early years of the parish were marked by its struggle for survival.[11] In 1832 services were held in Bedford Street, but no settled pastor was in charge. Benjamin Howard and Stephen A. Dix, wardens, represented the parish at the diocesan convention that year.[12] The fact that lack of a building and of a rector, not of funds, hindered a successful parish showed that would-be Episcopalians were moving into Boston, and desired to join a parish other than St. Paul's or Trinity. A new corporation took over the society in 1836, and elected Alonzo Potter, formerly of St. Paul's, as rector. Potter declined, as did also Stephen H. Tyng, but through the recommendation of Bishop Griswold, Thomas March Clark, a candidate for holy orders, took over the position.[13] The new building for Grace Church on the west side of Temple Street was consecrated by Bishop Griswold on 14 June 1836.[14] Two years later, Clark

10. Bishop Griswold consecrated this church in 1832. See under 'Otis' in Rev. Donald Nelson Alexander, *The Diocese of Western Massachusetts, 1901–1951* (Springfield, [1951]); the site of the town was described by a rector of St. Paul's as follows: 'This is grazing country, inhabited chiefly by farmers; its rugged and broken surface more favorable to health than the accumulation of wealth.' *JM*, 1852, p. 93.

11. See below, pp. 77–84.

12. *JM*, 1832, p. 23.

13. 'Record Book of Grace Church, Boston', entries for 1836. Thomas March Clark was the son of Thomas M. Clark, the first agent of the Boott Mills in Lowell, at the time of its organization. The son grew up in the Congregational Church, but converted to the Episcopal Church by the lack of liturgy in the former society. He married Caroline Howard, daughter of the senior warden of Grace Church, Boston. Her father, Benjamin Howard, was 'a well-to-do shipping merchant living then on Kingston Street [Boston] . . .'. Mary Clark Sturtevant, *Thomas March Clark, Fifth Bishop of Rhode Island, A Memoir By His Daughter* (Milwaukee, 1927), pp. 34–35.

14. *JED*, 1836, pp. 9–10. The pew sales in 1836 list, among others, the following names: John S. Stone, Rector of St. Paul's, $125; Ben T. Reed, $415; Otis Daniell, $1500; Chester Daniell, $536; N. Tracy, $200; A. Aspinwall, $200; Harrison Fay, $500; Robert Appleton, $550; James C. Merrill, $100; Edward Tuckerman, $400; Jonas Chickering, $200; Edward S. Rand, Newburyport, $100; Edward S. Rand, Boston, $412.50; Thomas Appleton, $2500; Samuel Lawrence, $300. 'Grace Church Building Committee, Treasurer's Ledger'.

noted 150 communicants, and a steady increase of parishioners 'mainly from the ranks of those who have not hitherto been acquainted with the services and peculiarities of the Episcopal Church'.[15] By 1840 Grace Church, on the basis of numbers of communicants, ranked close to Trinity and led St. Paul's, although several families had left the parish 'to unite with the new and flourishing society [St. John's] in Charlestown'.[16] From the 'thirteen churches' mentioned in Bishop Griswold's first report on the Diocese of Massachusetts in 1810, the number had grown by 1840 to thirty-eight.[17] Communicants totaled slightly over 3000, of which some 1200 were members of Episcopal churches in Boston.[18] Such was the physical growth of the diocese from 1811 to 1840.

15. *JM*, 1838, p. 19.
16. *JM*, 1840, pp. 23–24.
17. *JED*, 1839, p. 14.
18. *JM*, 1840, p. 60.

CHAPTER VII

DURING Bishop Griswold's episcopate, the annual conventions of the Diocese of Massachusetts and the standing committee chosen in the convention for the ensuing year, ran the business of the diocese and exercised, in most instances, the ultimate authority within it. The Eastern Diocese functioned as a means of maintaining a bishop financially, and as a clearinghouse of information about the individual parishes in the diocese; also the Bishop reported to it his recommendations, observations, and criticisms, both favorable and unfavorable.[1] General Convention, with its constitution and canons, acted only in a regulatory way on its member dioceses.[2] The authority which the Massachusetts convention and standing committee had over the parishes lay in their power to set forth terms to which new dioceses must conform before admission to union with the Convention.[3] Under the canons of General Convention the standing committee of every diocese had the sole power of testifying to the fitness of candidates for holy orders, and of acting as a bishop's council, of censuring, suspending, or degrading a clergyman after a canonical trial.[4] As most candidates for holy orders received the proper testimonials from the standing committee, and as cases of clerical presentment occurred infrequently,[5] a par-

1. At Bishop Griswold's death in 1843, the Eastern Diocese consisted only of Maine, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. Vermont had its own diocesan from 1832, and New Hampshire, out of respect of Griswold, continued to ask him to perform episcopal duties, although the diocese was not represented in the conventions of the Eastern Diocese after 1840. *JED*, 1841, pp. 12–13, 30.

2. As an example, General Convention set the age which candidates for office of deacon, priest, or bishop had to attain before ordination or consecration. 'Canons of 1832 (VIII)', *JGC*, 1844, p. 283.

3. 'Constitution of the . . . Church in . . . Massachusetts . . . 1834', *JM*, 1838, p. 74.

4. 'Canon II (1802)', *JM*, 1838, p. 76; 'Canons of 1832 (IV)', *JGC*, 1844, p. 282.

5. In 1822 charges were brought against the Rev. Cheever Felch, Chaplain in the U. S. Navy, who had conducted services at

ish with a rector or minister in charge, and in union with the Convention, pursued its way virtually under home rule or a congregational polity. The influence of the standing committee (which was the actual power in the convention, as it met throughout the year) in the diocese lay in the personnel and the churchmanship of its members.

The striking fact about both the clerical and lay members of the standing committee was the annual re-election to it of either the same men, or of delegates from the same parishes. When the Eastern Diocese was set up in 1810, Dr. Gardiner of Trinity, Boston, had been a member of the standing committee of the Diocese of Massachusetts since Parker's death in 1804, and served, with the exception of the year 1819, until 1830, when he died at Harrowgate, England, while on a trip 'for the recovery of his health'.[6] The Rev. Asa Eaton, rector of Christ Church, Boston, was elected to the standing committee from 1809 to 1821.[7] The Rev. James Morss, St. Paul's, Newburyport, appeared on the standing committee ten times from 1812 to 1824, and again in 1833 and 1834.[8] With the organization of St. Paul's, Boston, in 1820, its rector, Dr. Jarvis, was elected to the standing committee yearly until his separation from the parish in 1826.[9] Jarvis' successor at St. Paul's, the Rev. Alonzo Potter, served the standing committee only in 1831, a few weeks before his resignation, but he acted as delegate to General Convention during all of his five years in Boston.[10] Trinity, Boston, was represented on the standing committee from Dr. Gardiner's death by its successive rectors, George Washington Doane, 1831–

Charlestown and Dedham from 1820. He was found guilty on all charges and degraded. *JM*, 1822, pp. 168, 169. The character of the Rev. Thomas Carlile, St. Peter's, Salem, was subjected to a committee of inquiry, also in 1822, but the findings resulted only in censure. *JM*, 1822, pp. 166–168.

6. *JM*, for years cited. In 1807 Dr. Gardiner had been the sole clerical member of the standing committee, and the three lay members were from Trinity, Boston! *JM*, 1807, p. 103. Dr. Gardiner's long service on the standing committee was due largely to his literary and scholarly reputation and to the fact that Trinity parish was wholly a Boston organization, never beholden to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. See Josiah Quincy, 'Biographical Notices', *The History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1851), pp. 3–10.

7. *JM*, years cited.

8. *JM*, years cited.

9. *JM*, years cited.

10. *JM*, years cited.

32, and Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, 1833–38. From 1838, the assistant minister, John L. Watson, served on the standing committee until Manton Eastburn became the rector, as well as assistant bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts. Potter's successor at St. Paul's, John Seely Stone, was named to the standing committee from 1832 to 1837, and an all-Boston clerical group, made up of Stone, Wainwright, and William Croswell, rector of Christ Church, was elected in 1836 and 1837; while in 1838, Thomas March Clark, Grace Church, Boston, and Watson were chosen with Croswell for that year and for 1839. Theodore Edson of St. Anne's, Lowell, occupied the rôle of anchor man, and took his place on the standing committee from 1826 to 1829, and again in 1832, 1834, 1840, and 1841.[11] Thus, the clerical element of the standing committee represented Boston parishes alone, or parishes within twenty-five miles of Boston in Essex or Middlesex Counties.

With one exception the clergy of the standing committee worked harmoniously together during Bishop Griswold's tenure of office, and faithfully represented the parishes of the diocese. Actually there were in general but the loosest of ties among the diocesan headquarters in Boston, the parishes from Worcester County west, and the counties south of the Boston area. Exceptions were St. Stephen's, Pittsfield, and St. James', Greenfield, where ties with Boston were close because of E. A. Newton in the former parish and the Rev. Titus Strong in the latter.

The one sharp break in the smooth functioning of the standing committee took place in 1832. This outburst centered in the person of George Washington Doane. Bishop Hobart trained Doane in his churchmanship, and kept him as his assistant at Trinity, New York, for two years.[12] From New York, Doane went to Washington College, now Trinity, in Hartford, where from 1826 to 1828 he edited with his closest friend, William Croswell, the *Episcopal Watchman*.[13] At the urging of 'warm friends', Dr. Edward H. Robbins, Jr., and George Brinley, wardens of Trinity, Boston, Doane

11. *JM*, years cited.

12. William Croswell Doane, *A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane,* D.D., L.L.D., *Bishop of New Jersey, by his Son* (New York, 1860–61, 4 vols.), I, *passim.*

13. Doane, *Doane*, I, 90.

came to Boston in 1828.[14] Following a two-year assistantship to Dr. Gardiner, he was unanimously elected rector 3 December 1830, following Dr. Gardiner's death.[15] In 1829 Doane married Eliza Greene (Callahan) Perkins, a niece of Gardiner Greene, and widow of James Perkins, son of the James Perkins who helped to found the Boston Athenaeum, and nephew of Col. Thomas Handasyd Perkins.[16] Doane thus held a strong position socially, if not pastorally, in Trinity Church. With the resignation of the Rev. Asa Eaton from Christ Church, Boston, in 1829, Doane urged his friend William Croswell to accept the rector's place there.[17] They were later joined by a third strong churchman, John Henry Hopkins, rector of Trinity Church in Pittsburgh. Hopkins had one idea dominant at this time: to organize and teach in a theological seminary for candidates for holy orders in the Episcopal Church. Having received no encouragement in this work from his own Diocese of Pennsylvania, he visited Boston in May 1831. 'Measures were taken at once, which proved it to be morally certain that the Massachusetts Convention would gladly approve the plan . . .', which it did.[18] In the fall of 1831, the seminary opened with four students and a staff consisting of Hopkins, Eaton, Thomas W. Coit, and Bishop Griswold.[19] At the same time, Hopkins filled the post of assistant minister under Doane at Trinity. With Croswell, Doane had already started the publication of the *Banner of the Cross*, a weekly Church paper proclaiming as its motto, '*the* LITURGY, *the whole* LITURGY, *and nothing but the* LITURGY!'[20] Hopkins at once became a contributor.[21] The *Banner of the Cross* set forth the '. . . out and out expression of uncompromising Churchmanship' of its

14. Doane, *Doane*, I, 152; *Trinity Church, in the City of Boston, 1733–1933* (Boston, 1933), p. 206.

15. Doane, *Doane*, I, 152.

16. Doane, *Doane*, I, 185; [anon.,] *The Greene Family in England and America* (Boston, privately printed, 1901), Chart D.

17. [Rev. Henry Croswell,] *A Memoir of the late Rev. William Croswell, D.D.* (New York, 1853), pp. 69, 71.

18. [John Henry Hopkins, Jr.,] *The Life of the Late Rt. Rev. John Henry Hopkins* (New York, 1873 [1872]), p. 126; *JM*, 1829, p. 9.

19. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 138; *JM*, 1831, pp. 14–18.

20. *Banner of the Cross* (Boston), 14 April 1832.

21. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 138.

three editors, and made '. . . a plea for the Daily Service, not then . . . anywhere realized in the American Church'.[22]

Doane was named to the standing committee in 1831 along with Potter of St. Paul's and the Rev. Isaac Boyle, St. Paul's, Dedham. Alonzo Potter found himself strongly at variance with Doane's views, and while he was a great figure in the Church, St. Paul's was of 'such recent formation' that its rector did not have the prestige of Trinity's in the standing committee.[23] Not being an individual to make concessions,[24] Potter accordingly resigned his rectorship, stating that '. . . all feelings of personal regret, bitter as they are, being absorbed in the *one earnest hope and prayer* that the *Union* which has hitherto characterized yr. councils may still be maintained . . .'.[25] This left the field clear for Doane, but Doane attempted too much, and beyond '. . . his circle of devoted friends, coworkers, and admirers, he was looked upon as the one who was attempting to introduce Bishop Hobart's policies "into the uncongenial latitude and longitude of Boston: and suspicion and antagonism were developed" afresh by each successive proof of activity and zeal'.[26] Doane had lost the confidence of Hopkins, his assistant at Trinity, who in turn was elected Bishop of Vermont on 31 May 1832.[27] In the diocesan convention meeting in June 1832 Doane won his place to the standing committee, but lost control of it, as the new rector of St. Paul's, John Seely Stone, and Theodore Edson, of St. Anne's, Lowell, gained the other clerical seats. Both Doane and Morss, his colleague at St. Paul's, Newburyport, failed to win the contest for delegates to the coming general convention.[28] Doane's setback was thus complete.

This incident in the standing committee pointed up some of the phases of the history of the diocese which should not be overlooked. On the parochial level it appeared that 'the rivalry between that

22. Doane, *Doane*, I, 128, 131.

23. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, I, 135.

24. *St. Paul's Vestry Records*, copy of a letter, 27 Aug. 1831, from Potter to the Proprietors, p. 132.

25. *St. Paul's Vestry Records*, copy of letter, 3 Aug. 1831, from Potter to the Proprietors, pp. 126–127.

26. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 135.

27. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 145.

28. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, pp. 139–155. Doane was elected Bishop of New Jersey on 3 Oct. 1832. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

parish St. [Paul's] and old Trinity (which had previously been rather social and sympathetic) began to take on a stronger partisan hue, Trinity being High and S. Paul's Low'.[29] Previously the two parishes had been generally friendly. While Trinity was building a new church in 1828–29, the vestry of St. Paul's voted 'to receive and accommodate as far as practicable the whole congregation of said church, or such part of them as may wish to attend worship at St. Paul's . . .'. In such an event, Trinity's rector was invited to unite with St. Paul's rector 'in the services of the Church'.[30] Again, some parishioners of St. Paul's probably, and of Trinity certainly, favored a more 'Hobartian policy' from the time of Jarvis' rectorship than appeared openly.[31] Jarvis' successor, Alonzo Potter, disliked any discussion about High or Low Church, and resigned rather than become an active contestant; but had the entire congregation been behind him in his admittedly Low Churchmanship, he hardly would have yielded to Doane so easily.[32] Doane's following at Trinity represented a social attachment to him and his family, and not to High Church preferences, as Hopkins, who was definitely on the High Church side, first broke with Doane over the latter's disregard of Bishop Griswold, his diocesan.[33] Doane's influence in the standing committee rested in his personality, rather than in his church views; he was 'then in the full flush of early manhood, and overflowing with poetic enthusiasm, personal magnetism, and indefatigable activity, and singular practical adroitness in the handling of men as well as in the conduct of business'.[34] The great majority of parishioners at Trinity and St. Paul's remained undisturbed by the clerical factions of the standing committee in 1831 and 1832. By the fall of 1832, John Seely Stone had taken

29. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, pp. 140–141.

30. *St. Paul's Vestry Records*, p. 111 (24 Jan. 1828).

31. George Brinley, senior warden of Trinity Church, was one of Jarvis' counsels in his differences with St. Paul's. [Samuel F. Jarvis,] *A Narrative of Events, etc.* (n.p., n.d.), p. 102.

32. Potter's biographer, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, states that 'every element in the parish [St. Paul's] had been moulded into conformity to his principles and spirit . . .'. M. A. Dewolfe Howe, D.D., *Memoirs . . . of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1871), pp. 45–50. There remained, however, a dormant High Church group which found expression a decade later in the organization of the Church of the Advent.

33. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 139.

34. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 135.

over the rector's position at St. Paul's, while Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright replaced Doane at Trinity.

On the diocesan level, the incident in the standing committee of 1832 revealed how highly regarded and how firmly supported was Bishop Griswold by the Diocese of Massachusetts. The Low Church or Evangelical viewpoint[35] which Griswold held was also the viewpoint of all the parishes in the diocese, with the exception of Trinity Church in Nantucket.[36] It was not that the diocese had been molded by the bishop, or that he, in turn, had been influenced by its several parishes. Rather the diocese and the bishop both represented a kind of Episcopalian Churchmanship which revealed the influence of more than a century and a half of Congregationalism, and congregational direction of church affairs. Once on the standing committee in 1831, Doane in Boston tried to create a High Church diocese in Massachusetts, thus weakening the influence and ignoring the prerogatives of Bishop Griswold, now in Salem.[37] With the installation of John Seely Stone at St. Paul's, the diocese

35. The term 'Low Church' or 'Evangelical', applied in or to the Diocese of Massachusetts during the years 1810 to 1872, indicated the practice and practical views of most clergymen and laymen in the diocese at that time. The practice meant bidding clergy and laymen of other religious denominations to participate in the service of Holy Communion, to conduct weekday prayer meetings, especially in the evening, without following the form in the Book of Common Prayer, to preach an emotional or revival (evangelical) type of sermon rather than a doctrinal or theological one, to maintain the historic order, but not to believe that it was divinely commissioned, to place preaching and informal prayer more importantly in worship than the administration of the sacraments. The term 'High Church' indicated a strict following of the prayer book at every religious service or meeting, and stressed the divine, hence indispensable, nature of the episcopate, and the primacy of the sacraments, especially the Holy Communion in worship. Low Church views favored reform measures, such as the temperance movement; High Church views held that humanitarian movements best could be furthered by greater devotion to the life of the Church. Architecturally, a Low Church congregation felt at home in the New England meetinghouse, while the High Church favored the 'pseudo' or 'American' Gothic church, with prominence given to the altar in a raised chancel or apse. Consecrated at the same service, Bishops Griswold and Hobart during their lifetimes were foremost representatives of the two aspects of the one Church.

36. The position of the pulpit and the altar of Trinity Church, Nantucket, 'pained and mortified' Griswold on his visit there in 1841. *JED*, 1841, pp. 15–16.

37. Bishop Griswold moved from Bristol, R. I., to St. Peter's, Salem, in 1830, to be nearer the geographical center of the Eastern Diocese. John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 348.

had a protagonist who, with Edson of Lowell, could match Doane, and the bishop and his party resumed their dominant position. The standing committee 'was left to act as it had been accustomed to act, in harmony with the Bishop's advice'.[38]

38. Stone, *Griswold*, p. 371. In the disturbed years of 1831–32, Bishop Griswold's character revealed itself in its notable qualities of 'meekness', 'self-denying devotion to duty', and of a 'devout and holy spirit'. Griswold's view of the essential duty of a bishop was phrased in Jewel's words, ' "A *Bishop* should *die preaching.*" ' Charles Mason, *A Discourse . . . on the Death of the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, etc.* (Salem, 1843); Stone, *Griswold*, p. 569.

CHAPTER VIII

THE lay membership of the standing committee, like the clerical membership, showed the re-election of the same men, or of different men from the same parishes. During the thirty-three years, 1810 to 1842, Trinity, Boston, had lay representatives on the standing committee thirty-one times, and Christ Church, twenty-two. St. Paul's, Boston, from 1821 to 1842 had laymen on the standing committee for eighteen out of twenty-two years.[1] Grace Church, Boston, received into union with the diocese at the annual convention of 1830, was represented four times.[2] St. Paul's, Newburyport, and St. Peter's, Salem, had lay representation on the standing committee at least once.[3] The annual diocesan convention usually met in Boston, but in 1817 the meeting took place at Newburyport, in 1818 at Salem, in 1819 at Hanover, in 1820 in Cambridge, in 1821 at Dedham, in 1834 at Northampton, in 1835 at Pittsfield, and in 1841 at Springfield.[4] The eventful convention of 1832 met at Christ Church, Boston, on Wednesday, 20 June; the next day's session, Thursday, opened at Christ Church, continued the meeting at Trinity, and finally moved on to St. Paul's where the convention closed.[5]

Serving more than four years on the standing committee were, among others, Thomas Clark of Christ Church, Joseph Foster, George Brinley, and Joseph Head of Trinity, and Henry Codman and Dr. J. C. Warren of St. Paul's. In this same thirty-three-year period (1810–42), Thomas Clark served eleven times.[6] Clark was

1. These figures are based on the *JM* for the years named. The figures are not precise, as a delegate occasionally represented. or held pews in, more than one parish, Such cases were infrequent.
2. *JM*, 1838–41.
3. *JM*, 1813, p. 118; 1819, p. 145.
4. *JM*, years cited.
5. *JM*, 1832.
6. *JM*, 1821–31.

first a vestryman at Christ Church in 1809, then junior warden from 1812 to 1819, the same years that Shubael Bell was senior warden.[7] At Bell's death, Clark became senior warden, and took over a place on the standing committee filled by Bell for the years 1817–18.[8] Both Clark and Bell showed a sustained interest in the Diocese of Massachusetts, and in the Episcopal Church.[9] Bell owned pews in, and tombs under, Christ Church, St. Matthew's Chapel, and St. Mary's Church, Newton Lower Falls.[10] He was remembered as 'the zealous and liberal coadjutor of his Rector [Asa Eaton] in all church work'.[11] He served the Commonwealth as deputy sheriff in 1803, and acted as officer of police and held other minor town positions in Boston.[12] He had owned property in both Boston and Portland, Maine, yet he died insolvent.[13] Thomas Clark also owned pews in Christ Church and St. Matthew's Chapel.[14] William Croswell, rector of Christ Church at the time of Clark's death, mentioned him as 'our late excellent benefactor and time-honored warden'.[15] He gave his time to the diocesan standing committee for eleven years and loaned his parish church some $1900.[16] Yet like Bell, he was not a wealthy man and left only a few hundred dollars. A contemporary of Bell's and Clark's on the standing committee was Joseph Foster (1745–1835), a member of Trinity, Boston.

Foster grew up in Boston, but appeared at Trinity Church only at the time of his marriage to his first wife, Miriam Cutler, in 1783.[17] He owned a house at No. 8 Franklin Place, and after his marriage to his second wife, a widow named Mrs. Mary Davies Sohier, he

7. [Charles K. Bolton,] *Christ Church . . ., A Guide*, 200th anniversary edition (Boston, 1923).

8. *JM*, 1821, p. 153.

9. The Rev. Henry Burroughs, *A Historical Account of Christ Church . . . etc.* (Boston, 1874), p. 33.

10. Copy of Will of Shubael Bell, 'Suffolk County Probate Record', vol. 117, pp. 260–261.

11. Burroughs, *Christ Church*, p. 34.

12. *Boston Directory, 1803*, p. 137; *Minutes of the Selectmen's Meetings 1811–1817–18* (*R. Com. Report*, vol. 39), pp. 40, 146, 194, 237.

13. 'Suffolk Probate Records', vol. 120 (2), p. 182.

14. 'Suffolk Probate Records', Copy of Will of Thomas Clark, vol. 130 (2), p. 1.

15. *JM*, 1832, p. 22.

16. 'Suffolk Probate Records', vol. 131 (1), p. 555.

17. *Boston Marriages, 1752–1809*, p. 410.

occupied the position of junior warden at Trinity Church, while Joseph Head filled that of senior warden.[18] The diocesan convention chose Foster for the standing committee in 1806, and re-elected him every year to 1817.[19] About the year 1819, he moved from Boston to Cambridge, where he occupied the Lechmere-Sewall House, owned by Andrew Craigie. Foster's brother, Bossenger, who had married Elizabeth Craigie and after her death had married her sister, Mary, had lived in the Col. Henry Vassall House, which Andrew Craigie, brother of Elizabeth and Mary, had bought in 1792.[20] Andrew Craigie and Joseph Foster attended Christ Church, Cambridge, while Foster served as a warden there in 1829–32, and from 1833 till his death in 1835.[21] In 1832, when every unifying influence was needed on the standing committee, Foster, at the age of eighty-seven, once again (and for the twelfth time), was named to the standing committee.[22] At the time of Foster's death in 1835, his estate was inventoried at some $76,000, only $225 of which he left to the Episcopal Church.[23] His occupation appeared in the early Boston directories as 'merchant', with his office at 31 State Street.[24] It is probable that he gave not only of his time but also financial aid during his lifetime, as he was a vestryman of Trinity for six years, a warden for eleven other years, and a warden of Christ Church, Cambridge, for five years.[25] The ties of marriage appeared to be the dominant factor in allying Foster with the Episcopal Church and the Diocese of Massachusetts. To his step-son, William Davies Sohier, a Trinity vestryman, and for five years a member of the standing committee from 1838 to 1842, he gave the greater part of his estate, and made him executor and trustee of his property.[26]

18. *Trinity Church, in the City of Boston, 1733–1933* (Boston, 1933), p. 205; Frederick C. Pierce, *Pierce Genealogy* (Chicago, 1899), p. 929; Middlesex County Probate Office, 'Will of Joseph Foster' (Docket No. 8238).

19. *JM*, years cited.

20. *An Historic Guide to Cambridge*, compiled by . . . D.A.R. (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 98, 107. Alfred Lee, first Bishop of Delaware, was born in the Lechmere-Sewall House, 9 Sept. 1807, *Ibid.*, p. 107.

21. Lucius R. Page, *History of Cambridge . . . 1630–1877* (Boston and Cambridge, 1877), p. 310.

22. *JM*, 1832, p. 10.

23. 'Foster Will'.

24. *Boston Directories* for 1798, 1809, 1816.

25. *Trinity Church*, p. 208; Page, *Cambridge*, p. 310.

26. 'Foster Will'.

Another merchant of Trinity parish was Joseph Head (1761–1836). He served the diocese on the standing committee, 1812–17, and filled the positions of warden and vestryman at Trinity from 1791 to 1834.[27] Son of a Joseph Head who was born in England, he early established himself as a merchant in State Street, with his residence in Common Street.[28] For a year or two he was a partner in a ship-owning firm, under the name of Head and Amory, at 45 State Street.[29] He was also a director of the Union Bank, in Boston, in 1796, and subsequently appeared on the boards of directors, or was an officer of, the Massachusetts Fire and Marine Insurance Co., the Massachusetts Bank, the Massachusetts General Hospital, and Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Co.[30] Head's contemporaries, also directors and officers of these same institutions, were predominantly Unitarian or not permanently connected with any church.[31] The striking fact about the whole group is the amount of money they represented. The merchants predominated in the group; Head, with the others, was 'esteemed for intelligence and enterprise'.[32] The 'intelligence and enterprise' was revealed not so much in earning the money they had, but in investing and increasing it, without undue risk.

Head left an estate valued at about $136,000. He left his property to his wife, children, and grandchildren; at the time of his death his pew in Trinity Church, then on Summer Street, was worth

27. *JM*, years cited; *Trinity Church*, p. 205.

28. Clarence W. Bowen, *The History of Woodstock, Conn., etc.* (Norwood, Mass., 1930, 8 vols.), III, 345; *Boston Directories*, 1796, 1798.

29. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXI (April 1935), pp. 103, 186. Jonathan Amory was his partner.

30. List taken from *Boston Directories* for 1809, 1816, 1836.

31. In a list of fifty-one different names of the officers and directors of three of these corporations, thirteen were Unitarian: John Q. Adams, Samuel Appleton, Nathaniel Appleton, Peter C. Brooks, Benjamin Bussey, P. T. Jackson, Amos Lawrence, John Lowell, Samuel Parkman, T. H. Perkins, John Phillips, Josiah Quincy, and Arnold Welles; nine were Episcopalian: Henry Codman, Stephen Codman, Benjamin Greene, Joseph Head, Samuel Hubbard, Jonathan Mason, Daniel P. Parker, Joseph Tilden, and Edward Tuckerman, Jr.; David Sears started as Episcopal, but formed his own sect. The other names belong in part to the Congregational Church. See *JM*, 1809, 1816, 1836; *Trinity Church*; *Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston . . . 1699–1872* (Boston, 1902); Freeman Hunt, *Lives of the Merchants*, I, 372 ff., etc.

32. Hunt, *Merchant's Magazine*, I (July 1839), 131.

$750, and a tomb under Trinity, $400.[33] About the time of Head's death in 1836, the debt of Trinity Church, incurred in building the new church, was some $32,000, but the market value of the pews indicated that by assessments, the pew owners could maintain the church financially, and that a large endowment was not a pressing need.[34] The help that Head gave to his parish and diocese took the form of a lifelong interest and a sustaining financial responsibility. His son, Joseph Head, Jr., served on the building committee for Trinity in 1828, and appeared on the vestry concurrently with his father.[35] In a few Boston families, whose immediate ancestors were English-born (as in the case of Joseph Head), the attachment to the Anglican Church before the Revolution, and to the Episcopal Church after the Revolution, represented an unstressed yet continuing commitment which the children inherited as naturally as their surname.

Had Head been British-born as was James Anderton, in all likelihood he would have established an Episcopal society at the Falls of the Sudbury River in the northeast corner of Framingham. This section of Framingham, known as Saxonville, had appeared a desirable site for a mill; as early as 1824, a Boston group had dug a canal and put up a mill for manufacturing woolen cloth.[36] The next year, 1825, the Saxon factory combined with the Leicester factory where Anderton and others had established an Episcopal society in 1823. Then in 1829, Joseph Head and others, took over the mill site and were incorporated as the Saxon Cotton and Woolen Factory. The Saxonville Religious Society had been incorporated in 1827, a meetinghouse built; 'Religious worship was at first conducted by ministers of the Unitarian denomination; and subsequently for a time by the Methodists and others.'[37] Head's interests in Saxonville were not minor. His real estate there, including twenty-three tenements, two shops, and a church totaled $10,800; while his Saxonville Factory stock was valued at $18,900.[38] A re-

33. 'Suffolk County Probate Records', Inventory of Head estate.
34. *Trinity Church*, p. 14.
35. *Trinity Church*, pp. 14, 206.
36. J. H. Temple, *History of Framingham* (Framingham, 1887), p. 357.
37. Temple, *Framingham*, p. 368.
38. 'Suffolk Probate Records', Inventory of Head estate.

ligious society being already organized at the mills was, though small, adequate for the needs of the 246 operatives,[39] Unitarian, Congregational, or Methodist though it might be. Head, as a citizen of Boston, and a second generation Episcopalian, took religion, like good manners, for granted. The Episcopal societies of his day did not differ markedly from other Christian and Protestant societies.

Following in the steps of Joseph Head was George Brinley (1774–1857), a man whom the annual diocesan conventions elected to the standing committee ten times between 1818 and 1832.[40] His uncle, Thomas Brinley, was a Mandamus Councillor, and the whole Brinley family early incurred the reputation of Loyalists.[41] George Brinley, born in Boston, 'was for many years at the head of a large drug store in Boston, succeeding Dr. Dix, and laid the foundation of a large fortune'.[42] In 1805 he married Catherine Putnam, a granddaughter of Gen. Israel Putnam, in Brooklyn, Connecticut.[43] Not only did he hold the positions of vestryman, and junior and senior warden of Trinity from 1818 to 1842, and serve on the building committee in 1828; he was equally active in the diocese.[44] In addition to his ten years on the standing committee, he represented Jarvis in the latter's quarrel with St. Paul's in 1825.[45] Earlier, he and Col. Putnam, of Brooklyn, Connecticut, had engaged 'in long and exciting litigations' with the Rev. George Savage White, a protégé of Bishop Griswold's.[46] With a group of friends, White had attempted without success to organize a parish in Boston 'to accommodate that portion of the resident English in Boston, who were attached to the Church of their fathers . . . but who were not able to take pews in the old and more expensive churches'.[47]

39. About three months after Head's death, the number of employees at the mills was 105 males, 141 females; capital invested was $415,000, and the cloth manufactured valued at $311,800. Temple, *Framingham*, p. 357.

40. *JM*, 1818, 1821–25, 1829–32.

41. James H. Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1910), p. 396.

42. Eben Putnam, *A History of the Putnam Family* (Salem, 1891), p. 312.

43. *Ibid.*

44. *Trinity Church*, pp. 14, 206.

45. [Samuel F. Jarvis,] *A Narrative of Events, etc.* (n.p., n.d.), p. 102.

46. John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 263.

47. *Ibid.*

Brinley's son, George, Jr., moved from Boston to Hartford when a young man, as he had developed 'a prejudice against Boston which persisted throughout his life'.[48] That his father suffered from the Brinley 'Tory' label was evident by his move to Hartford and also by the fact that he invested his money in real estate in Worcester and South Boston, rather than in Boston banks, trusts, or insurance companies.[49] Brinley's churchmanship was not characteristic of the diocese, as he had acted for Jarvis in 1825, and was on Doane's side of the standing committee from 1830 to 1832.[50]

Other recurring names on the standing committee were those of Henry Codman (1789–1853) and his father Stephen Codman (1758–1844). Both men helped in the organization of St. Paul's, Boston. Stephen Codman served on the standing committee 1821–23, while his son Henry, who practiced law in Boston, was elected annually from 1831 to 1837.[51] He married Catherine Willard Amory, daughter of John Amory, who was her father's only heir and inherited a large fortune. Roxbury was the home of Lucius Manlius Sargent, and was likewise Mrs. Codman's home. When the young parish of St. James reported to the diocese through its rector, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, in 1837, he noted that 'our liberal brethren of St. Paul's Church, Boston', had paid about half of a sum of $1100 in reduction of the parish debt.[52]

Another lawyer to give five years of his time to the standing committee was William D. Sohier, son of Mrs. Joseph Foster by a previous marriage.[53] The medical profession was represented on the standing committee for five years by John Collins Warren, 1826–30.[54] As related above, the balance of the names on the standing committee was made up largely of delegates representing Bos-

48. Randolph G. Adams, *Three Americanists, Henry Harrisse, George Brinley, Thomas Jefferson* (Philadelphia, 1939), p. 37 and n. 5.

49. Putnam, *Putnam Family*, p. 312; 'Suffolk Probate Records', Copy of Will of George Brinley. Brinley's estate was more than $140,000.

50. In 1833 Brinley was replaced in the position of senior warden at Trinity by John T. Apthorp, and on the standing committee by Edward H. Robbins, Jr. *Trinity Church*, pp. 205, 206; *JM*, 1833, p. 14.

51. *JM*, years cited; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, x (January 1856), 64.

52. *JM*, 1837, p. 19.

53. *JM*, 1838–42.

54. *JM*, 1826–30.

ton churches. The Greene family, connected by marriage with the Amorys, Copleys, Hubbards, and Perkinses, was represented on the standing committee by Gardiner Greene.[55] Samuel D. Parker, three years on the standing committee, descended from the second Bishop of Massachusetts and Trinity's rector, Samuel Parker.[56]

In a very tangible way did the Greene family serve the Diocese of Massachusetts. In 1763 the children of Thomas Greene, carrying out their father's wish, set up a fund of £500 to be matched by an equal sum procured by the trustees, as 'a perpetual fund for supporting a Clergyman of the Church of England . . . who is to be employed as a constant assistant to the Incumbent or stated Minister of said [Trinity] Church . . .'.[57] During the years of Dr. Gardiner's active rectorship, 1804–28, he felt no need of an assistant, and the fund accumulated.[58] The treasurer of the fund, known as the Greene Foundation, for a period of thirty-four years (1797–1831) was Joseph Head. During his term of office the principal of the fund reached nearly $40,000, and the annual income more than $2100.[59] In 1828 the income of the foundation paid the salary of the Rev. G. W. Doane, as assistant at Trinity, and with few interruptions has supported an assistant ever since. The Greene Foundation did much to keep Trinity Church the leading church in the diocese, and the cause of the diocese advanced both because of, and in spite of, Trinity.[60]

55. [Anon.,] *The Greene Family in England and America with Pedigrees* (Boston, 1901), *passim*; *JM*, 1814.

56. *JM*, 1826–28; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit: Episcopalian* (New York, 1859), v, 297.

57. *The Greene Foundation . . . of Trinity Church, Boston* (Boston, 1875), pp. 35–36.

58. Quincy, 'J. S. J. Gardiner', *History of the Boston Athenaeum*, p. 9.

59. *Greene Foundation*, p. 10.

60. Dissatisfaction with Trinity's services in part built St. Paul's Church. Appropriately enough, in 1844 the capital of the Greene fund was slightly in excess of $44,000. *Greene Foundation*, p. 33.

CHAPTER IX

THE standing committee represented the administrative and clerical personnel phases of diocesan affairs, but in the equally important field of financial matters, a corporation, not provided for by the constitution and canons of the Church, handled diocesan funds. With the election of Griswold in 1810, the need of money to support him was obvious. The independent and congregational tone of the few parishes in the Eastern Diocese precluded any successful and regular voluntary contributions to an episcopal fund. To provide for the bishop, then, the Diocese of Massachusetts appointed a committee, which applied for an incorporating act enabling the incorporators to form an association, like any business, 'to receive and manage any and all funds, estates, and donations to the Episcopal Church, for the support of a bishop, or any other purpose appertaining to the public worship and interests of said Church'.[1] Originally only fifteen trustees were provided to manage this association, known as the Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church.[2] As annual dues or assessments were only five dollars, and the Episcopal clergy were exempt even from these dues, the incorporating act was amended in 1811 increasing the number of trustees to an unlimited amount.[3] Three hundred and fifteen members were taken in during 1811, a definite majority of whom lived in the Diocese of Massachusetts. Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Bristol, Newport, and Providence, Rhode Island furnished the only other significant number of members.[4] The

1. Calvin R. Batchelder, *History of the Eastern Diocese* (Claremont and Boston, 1876–1910, 2 vols.), II, 173.

2. *Abstract of the Records of the Trustees of Donations to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1870), p. 17.

3. *Abstract*, pp. 18, 24.

4. *Abstract*, pp. 179–184.

money-raising purpose of the society posed a problem from the beginning. The society paid Bishop Griswold $350 in 1811, and in 1812 voted $425 'towards the Bishop's salary', but at the end of that year, the treasurer was 'authorized and requested to pay the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold . . . the sum of ($350) three hundred and fifty dollars'.[5] Another difficulty of the trustees of donations consisted in assembling a quorum for business.[6] Money finally came in for the bishop's fund, and for specific uses. In November 1815 the treasurer informed the managers that 'he had received, from an unknown hand, a liberal donation of three thousand dollars, to be added to the Bishop's fund . . .'. The board of managers then voted to invest this money 'in stock of the United States'.[7] Then in 1830, as an evidence of his lifelong devotion to the Church, Dudley Atkins Tyng bequeathed $100 to the bishop's fund.[8] At a meeting in 1842, Edward S. Rand, secretary, reported to the society that the bishop's fund amounted to $15,000, an amount in both principal and income 'altogether inadequate . . . for the maintenance of the Episcopate'.[9]

Though otherwise of front rank in diocesan affairs, Edward A. Newton of Pittsfield did not belong to the society. Writing to the trustees in November, 1832, Newton offered the society his personal bond of $4000, secured by mortgages on land in Pittsfield. The interest from the bond, or interest from a similar amount invested in Pittsfield real estate when the bond was paid up, was to be paid to St. Stephen's Church, Pittsfield, towards a total contingent salary for the minister of $500 a year.[10] The board of managers, in February 1833, voted to accept the trust of E. A. Newton. When the board scanned the mortgages which Newton turned over to it,

5. *Abstract*, pp. 27–29.

6. *Abstract*, pp. 101, 104, 110, for instances. Much of the business of the trustees of donations involved the proving and confirming of lands granted to New Hampshire parishes, by either the act creating the township, or by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In Massachusetts, Hopkinton glebe lands were the only prominent issue of this nature. *Abstract, passim.*

7. *Abstract*, p. 40.

8. *Abstract*, p. 96.

9. *Abstract*, p. 127. Rand stated that the fund started in 1810 with $6000, an amount 'contributed by individuals for that purpose', but Rand did not name them. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

10. *Abstract*, pp. 102–103.

a committee was appointed to study them and report. The outcome of this study was set forth in a report of June 1834, refusing to accept the Newton bond, as 'it will be difficult, if not impossible, for the officers of this Corporation and their successors, at such a distance, to form any opinion of the sufficiency of mortgage securities, and of the titles of the mortgaged estates; and whereas, a frequent change of securities would, in the lapse of time, inevitably subject the funds to risk . . .'.[11] Holding money in trust as did the trustees of donations, the board of managers invested it in the then safest holdings there were, banks, insurance companies, railroad stocks, and government securities.[12] The membership of the society stood in the hundreds; it included most, if not all, of the prominent Episcopal clergy of Boston, and the laymen belonging to their various parishes. A large membership did not imply, however, a correspondingly wide interest in the society. The officers and managers who did the work of the society, were those same Tyngs, Doanes, Eatons, Heads, Fosters, Greenes, Parkers, Brinleys, Codmans, and Howards, that did the work on the standing committees.[13] The trustees of donations, by their own admission, never had adequate funds for the support of the bishop. The meetings of the board of managers, preceding the two fixed annual meetings of the trustees, often lacked a quorum.[14] What the society did accomplish for the Diocese of Massachusetts through its few active members was to create an extra-parochial or diocesan institution, managed by the council of the leading clergymen together with the business and legal experience of a few laymen, which raised and invested money in the best ways known to conservative Boston businessmen.[15] That the financial figures were relatively small evidenced a general lack

11. *Abstract*, p. 107. The committee on the Newton trust was W. D. Sohier of Trinity, Boston, and Henry Codman and James Merrill of St. Paul's.

12. *Abstract*, pp. 116, 166. In 1847 William Appleton transferred 100 shares ($10,000) of Pittsfield & North Adams Railroad stock to the society, 'the payment of interest of which is guaranteed by the Western Rail Road corporation', for the benefit of the Episcopal City Mission. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

13. *Abstract*, pp. 178–184.

14. *Abstract*, p. 127, and *passim*.

15. Real estate was, for some reason, less highly regarded than bank and insurance stocks for investment, yet the inventories of the estates of certain churchmen, George Brinley, for example, revealed valuable holdings of land and buildings.

of interest combined with the pervasive parochialism of many churchmen. It was hardly likely that church politics, i.e., High or Low Churchmanship, affected the running of the trustees of donations, as all its members agreed that the financial support of the episcopate (were the bishop of the evangelical or of the high party) was necessary for the existence of the Church.

Where faction or party did intrude was in the attempts of the diocese, both alone and in conjunction with the Eastern Diocese, to organize an Episcopal school of theology. Bishop Griswold had frequently set forth the need for a school in his reports to the Eastern Diocese. As the leading member of the Eastern Diocese, Massachusetts wanted the school to be located within the state. Hopkins, backed by Doane, started a purely diocesan school in 1831, but owing to the factional crisis of 1830–32, he could not secure the pledge of $10,000 'as the lowest [sum] which he could regard as proof of a serious determination to make the Seminary a reality'.[16] The best that the vestry of Trinity Church would do was to raise by subscription a small trust fund, from which 'a few hundred dollars of income' would pay Hopkins as 'Professor of Systematic Theology, so long as . . . [he] should fill that chair'.[17] The few Hobart priests and churchmen in the diocese maintained the opinion that the General Seminary of the Church, in New York City, offered the best training for candidates for the ministry. By 1836, however, the Massachusetts convention, spurred on by a pledge of $25,000 from the Diocese of Rhode Island, canvassed the convention for pledges for the projected 'Episcopal Theological Seminary' in Massachusetts.[18] The result of the canvass were pledges by eighteen churches, over a five-year period, of $38,750. In addition to this sum, the convention further assumed the responsibility of raising $25,000.[19] Of the $38,750 pledged by churches in the convention, St. Paul's and Grace Churches, Boston, pledged $27,500

16. [John Henry Hopkins, Jr.,] *The Life of the Late Rt. Rev. John Henry Hopkins* (New York, 1873 [1872]), pp. 143, 144.

17. [Hopkins,] *Hopkins*, p. 144.

18. The Diocese of Rhode Island pledged $25,000 over a ten-year period for an endowed professorship. *JM*, 1836, p. 50.

19. *JM*, 1836, p. 53.

while Trinity and Christ Churches pledged nothing.[20] Wainwright, Trinity's rector, inclined toward High Church views. Croswell at Christ Church, on Doane's side in 1832, held Doane as a close friend. Thus both men would not abandon their exclusive support of General Theological Seminary.[21] The less favorable business conditions of 1837 influenced the convention of that year temporarily to drop the idea of the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Massachusetts.[22] Not until ten years later, in 1846, under Bishop Eastburn, did the subject of a divinity school again occupy the convention. The pledges made in 1836, though not paid, yielded evidence of the stability of the churches in Salem and Newburyport, of the permanence of the parish in Lowell, and of the resources of the infant parish in Pittsfield.

Grace Church, Boston, admitted into union with the diocesan convention of 1830, pledging second to St. Paul's, revealed some aspects of clerical and lay activities and resources in the diocese which help to fill in the picture of the Church in Massachusetts during the last decade of Bishop Griswold's episcopate, and of Manton Eastburn's first years as bishop. The origin of Grace Church centered in the person of an English Dissenting minister, James Sabine. Sabine emigrated from England to Newfoundland in 1816.[23] From thence with his wife and eight children he came to Boston in 1818, where he started the Essex Street Church.[24] About ten years

20. Massachusetts parishes pledging over $500 were: St. Paul's, $25,000; Grace, $2500; St. Anne's, Lowell, $2000; St. Peter's, Salem, $1500; St. Paul's, Newburyport, $1000; St. Stephen's, Pittsfield, $750; twelve other parishes pledged $500 each. *JM*, 1836, p. 52.

21. Wainwright left Trinity in 1838, served in the Diocese of New York, and was consecrated its provisional bishop in 1852. Croswell left Boston for Auburn, New York, in 1840.

22. *JM*, 1837, p. 41. The Eastern Diocese acted likewise. In one detail the recession of 1837 benefited the diocese financially. The treasurer of the Board of Missions, depositing $20 in silver change in a bank, 7 June 1837, was credited with a 10% premium, making the deposit $22. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

23. [John Dickinson Sabine,] *The Family and Descendants of Rev. James Sabine* (printed for private circulation, Washington, D. C., 1904), p. 5.

24. Sabine was an 'orthodox Congregationalist', though 'as a young man he entered the Presbyterian Ministry'. The society, of which he was minister, like others in Boston, did not maintain a general adherence to any one sect. John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 346; [Sabine,] *Sabine, p. 5.*

later, Sabine withdrew from this society, became a candidate for orders in the Episcopal Church, and received ordination at Bishop Griswold's hands in 1829.[25] A portion of his Essex Street Church group followed him. As the minister of this little group, Sabine reported to the Diocese of Massachusetts, in 1830, that 'Grace Church Congregation prays the help and advice of the Convention, in its struggle for a standing among the churches of the Diocese'.[26] In this same convention of 1830, the application of Grace Church, Boston, for admission into union with the diocesan convention received approval. The two lay delegates seated in the convention were Charles Williams and Apollo Morris.[27]

In the fall of 1830, Sabine, then in his fifty-seventh year, left Boston. He moved to Bethel, Vermont, where he served as rector of Christ Church until shortly before his death fifteen years later, in 1845.[28] Ministering as he did in the Diocese of Vermont under Bishop Hopkins, Sabine and his family by no means abandoned their connection with the Diocese of Massachusetts. His first wife having died in 1837, Sabine married, in 1840, at Trinity Church, Bridgewater, Massachusetts, the widow of its first rector, the Rev. Matthias Munroe.[29] Sabine's son, John Theodore Sabine, 'a clergyman of sincere and deep piety', preached at Christ Church, Clappville, in 1839.[30] He transferred from the Diocese of Vermont to that of Massachusetts in 1847.[31] Two of James Sabine's daughters married Episcopal ministers, both of whom had charge of various parishes and missions near Boston.[32] The Sabine family showed that

25. Rt. Rev. George Burgess, *List of . . . Order of Deacons, etc.* (Boston, 1875), no. 767 (28 Aug. 1829).

26. *JM*, 1830, p. 34.

27. *JM*, 1830, p. 8. Williams owned a bookstore in Boston, which advertised a varied list of books about, and by members of, the Anglican Communion.

28. [Sabine,] *Sabine*, p. 5.

29. [Sabine,] *Sabine*, p. 5; Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 33–35. The Rev. John T. Sabine and his sister, Ann, both were married in Grace Church, Boston, the former in 1836, the latter in 1830. [Sabine,] *Sabine*, pp. 6, 9.

30. *JM*, 1839, p. 9. He died in 1851; the words quoted are Bishop Eastburn's characterization of him, *JM*, 1851, p. 24. John was ordained only four years after his father. [Sabine,] *Sabine*, p. 9.

31. *JM*, 1847, p. 25.

32. Ann Sabine, herself born in England, married the Rev. Henry Blackaller, also born in England; Uleyetta Sabine married the Rev. Dexter Potter. [Sabine,] *Sabine*, pp. 6, 11; Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 33–35; *JM*, 1863, p. 78; 1864, p. 135; 1866, pp. 87–88; 1881, p. 27.

English emigrants of the first and second generations provided the Diocese of Massachusetts, at least in part, with its clergy. It also showed that Bishop Griswold had an influence on younger men of other branches of the Christian Church that made up somewhat for the lack of candidates for holy orders among Episcopal families.

After Sabine went to Vermont, Grace Church had a number of rectors whose terms were short. In 1832 Benjamin Howard and Stephen Dix as wardens signed the parochial report, which stated that the place of holding services had been changed from the church building in Piedmont Street to Amory Hall in Bedford Street. The change of location increased the number of worshippers, but more importantly Benjamin Howard now filled the place of senior warden of the parish.[33] Howard, a merchant who had moved from Salem to Boston, came from a family belonging to St. Peter's, in Salem. Realizing, as did the rectors and others in Grace Church parish, that a building was the primary need of the society, Howard succeeded in raising $33,000 for land and a church. The money was provided, and the church built, by a corporation formed within the parish of Grace Church, named Grace Church in the City of Boston. With the completion of the church in 1836, the wardens and a majority of the vestry of the original parish were elected by the proprietors to the same offices in the new society. The original parish of 1830 was dissolved, and the new parish was admitted into union with the diocesan convention at the same time.[34] In April 1836 the wardens were Howard and Otis Daniell; Edward Sprague Rand was clerk.[35]

Bishop Griswold consecrated the new church building on Temple Street, 14 June 1836.[36] In November of this same year Thomas March Clark began his service of seven years in Grace Church. Clark's father, Thomas March Clark of Newburyport,[37] had helped in the purchase of the Locks and Canal Corporation, which marked

33. *JM*, 1832, p. 23.

34. *JM*, 1836, pp. 12–13, 20–21.

35. 'Record Book of Grace Church, Boston'. Otis Daniell (1804–71) of Needham, had moved to Boston and was in the paper business. Moses Grant Daniell, *The Daniell Family* (Boston, 1874), pp. 11–12; *Boston Directory*, 1836.

36. *JM*, 1837, p. 17.

37. George K. Clarke, *Descendants of Nathaniel Clarke, etc.* (Boston, 1902), p. 327.

the beginning of the Lowell mills.[38] His son Thomas came into the Episcopal Church from the Presbyterian, through the influence of Bishop Griswold. In his autobiography, the younger Clark stated that by Bishop Griswold he '. . . was confirmed, admitted to the deaconate, ordained priest, and married by him, and it was by his nomination that I was called to my first parish—Grace Church in the City of Boston'.[39] The person to whom Griswold married Clark, 2 October 1838, was Caroline Howard, daughter of the senior warden of Grace Church. His granddaughter described Howard at this time as '. . . a well-to-do shipping merchant living then on Kingston Street [Boston], with his family of five daughters and five sons . . .'.[40] In 1840 the trustees of donations named Howard as treasurer of their society, a position which he held until 1854.[41] In 1838, Howard was chosen for the standing committee; he was re-elected annually until 1842, when he was named as one of the diocesan delegates to general convention for 1842 and 1843.[42] From 1838 until 1844, when Howard's son-in-law, Clark, was only twenty-five years old, yet rector of Grace Church, Clark himself was elected to the standing committee. Through Howard and T. M. Clark, Grace Church rapidly became one of the leading parishes in the diocese.[43] Its financial resources were indicated in the meetings of the proprietors in the spring of 1836, prior to the time of Clark's acceptance of the rectorship. In March 1836, the corporation elected Alonzo Potter to be rector of Grace Church at an annual salary of $2500. When he declined the offer, the corporation in May voted for Stephen H. Tyng, son of Dudley Atkins Tyng, as rector at the same salary.[44] With the known position of both Potter and Tyng as Low or Evangelical Churchmen, without a touch of the Hobart influence about them, and brilliant speakers withal, the members of Grace Church showed that they aligned themselves

38. Clarke, *Clarke*, p. 327; Nathan Appleton, *Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell* (Lowell, 1858), p. 22.

39. Thomas M. Clark, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1895), p. 73.

40. Mary Clark Sturtevant, *Thomas March Clark, A Memoir* (Milwaukee, 1927), pp. 34–35.

41. *Abstract*, p. 2.

42. *JM*, years cited.

43. *JM*, years cited; Clark, *Clarke*, p. 327.

44. 'Record Book of Grace Church, Boston'.

with the prevailing viewpoint of the other Episcopal parishes in the diocese by trying to secure one or the other of these men to be their rector. Tyng likewise declined the offer. When Bishop Griswold installed Clark as rector, the parish found that it had a younger man who was following certainly and ably in the churchmanship of Potter and of Tyng.

The list of pew-holders and pew-rents revealed the determination of certain Episcopalians in or near Boston to make a success of Grace Church parish. Stone, rector at St. Paul's, owned a pew for a short time. Also of St. Paul's and pew-holders, were Dr. J. C. Warren, James C. Merrill, Edward Tuckerman, and Edward S. Rand of Boston. Edward S. Rand of St. Paul's, Newburyport, owned a pew. Otis and Chester Daniell gave the church for pews $1500 and $536 respectively.[45] A close relative of the Boston William Appleton family, Robert Appleton, gave $550 in 1836, and a Thomas Appleton contributed $2500.[46] Robert Appleton, like Benjamin Howard and the Daniells, had come to Boston as a young man; he became a merchant in the dry goods business.[47] His interest in the Episcopal Church had no family antecedents as in the instance of Howard and the Daniells, but his maternal aunt, Mary Means, had married Jeremiah Mason, who with his family worshipped in the Episcopal Church.[48] Thomas Appleton, also a distant cousin of both William and Robert Appleton,[49] was Boston born.[50] After an apprenticeship

45. The names and amounts are taken from the 'Grace Church Building Committee, Treasurer's Ledger', in the Massachusetts Diocesan Library. Otis and Chester Daniell, recently moved to Boston from Needham, were sons of Jeremiah Daniell, a member of St. Mary's, Newton Lower Falls. From 1821 to 1828 he was exempt from Needham church rates. George Kuhn Clarke, *History of Needham, Mass., 1711–1911* (privately printed, 1912), p. 307.

46. 'Grace Church Ledger'. Robert Appleton was the son of the Rev. Jesse Appleton (1772–1819), second president of Bowdoin College, and a cousin of William Appleton (1786–1862). Robert Appleton's aunt, Nancy Means Ellis, a widow, married Amos Lawrence in 1821. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, I (Oct 1847), 329–330.

47. *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, I (Oct. 1847), 330.

48. *Memoirs of Jeremiah Mason* (reproduction of edition of 1873, Boston, 1917), p. 381.

49. William (1786–1862), Robert (1810–51), and Thomas (1785–1872) were descended from Samuel Appleton, son of Samuel, the first Appleton emigrant from England. John Appleton, *Monumental Memorials of the Appleton Family* (Boston, 1867), pp. 5–6.

50. Christine M. Ayars, *Contributions to the Art of Music etc.* (New York, 1937), p. 152.

to Elisha Larned, a Boston cabinetmaker, Appleton, in 1806, 'accidentally' met William Goodrich.[51] The brothers Ebenezer and William Goodrich came in the early 1800s from Templeton to Boston, where they had gone into the business of building organs and pianos. This meeting of Appleton and William Goodrich led to a business association for making organs; it resulted, too, in the marriage in 1812, at Templeton, of Appleton to Beulah Goodrich, sister of William and Ebenezer. Appleton together with various partners or alone built organs until 1868; he produced '35 for Boston alone and more than 100 for other cities'.[52] William Goodrich built organs for the Episcopal societies of St. Paul's, Christ Church, Boston, St. Anne's, Lowell, and St. Stephen's, Pittsfield.[53] That the business of organ and piano building could pay was shown in Appleton's ability to contribute a large sum to Grace Church, Boston; yet, after 'a long struggle he failed in Boston, because in his zeal to make fine instruments, he put in improvements and extras yet charged only the contract price'.[54] Through the agency of Thomas Appleton, Jonas Chickering acquired needed capital for his growing piano business in 1830.[55] Chickering was a pew owner of Grace Church in 1836 along with Appleton. Like the Goodriches, Chickering had felt the pull of the city from his birthplace near New Ipswich, New Hampshire.[56] That the Episcopal Church should be 'the church of his adoption', was a circumstance growing out of his acquaintance with James Sharpe, artist, member of the Handel and Haydn Society, and 'leader of the music in Trinity Church in this city [Boston]'.[57] Chickering had met Sharpe by chance when seeking work on his arrival in Boston from New Ipswich in 1818. Thus, as the merchandising and methods of marketing of various goods increased and expanded, as the paper business

51. Ayars, *Music*, p. 152.

52. Ayars, *Music*, p. 153; Henry A. Goodrich, *Church Organs, etc.* (Fitchburg Historical Society, 1902), p. 8.

53. Ayars, *Music*, pp. 148–149.

54. Ayars, *Music*, p. 154.

55. Ayars, *Music*, pp. 107, 111–112. Chickering later served as a vestryman of Trinity, Boston, from 1850 to 1853. *Trinity Church, in the City of Boston, 1733–1933* (Boston, 1933), p. 207.

56. [Richard G. Parker,] *A Tribute to the Life and Character of Jonas Chickering* (Boston, 1854), p. 147.

57. [Parker,] *Chickering*, p. 40 n.

grew, as the inventive and productive genius of organ and piano builders developed, so in a commensurate way grew Grace Church.

The rector reporting to the diocesan convention in 1837 noted that the great part of the increase in the congregation 'is made up of those who have not been heretofore connected with the Episcopal Church'.[58] With the installation by Bishop Griswold of Clark in 1837, the diocese could offer to residents in, or near, Boston a pew at a reasonable figure in a new church, the rector of which was an intelligent, liberal, and kindly man. Bishop Griswold, who moved to Boston while the church in Temple Street was being built, administered the rite of confirmation 'seven distinct times' in the years 1836 through 1839 to the total number of 111 candidates.[59] Clark commented on the sound financial position of the parish, and accounted for it by 'systematic contributions', 'one general Parochial Treasury', 'efficiency and regularity of operation . . . gained through a system of monthly contributions for adults and weekly contributions for Sunday Schools'.[60]

The demand for pews 'on the floor of the church' in 1840 was more than the church could supply, despite the fact that an Episcopal society in Charlestown had taken some families from Grace Church.[61] What did lessen the number of communicants was the 'loss of the . . . beloved and devoted Rector of the Parish' to the rectorship of St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, in the fall of 1843.[62] Bishop Griswold's successor, Manton Eastburn, instituted a new rector, the Rev. Clement M. Butler, in May 1844.[63] The weakness of the diocese showed itself often in the lack of parishes

58. *JM*, 1837, p. 17.

59. *JM*, 1839, p. 25; *JM*, 1840, p. 24.

60. *JM*, 1838, p. 19; *JM*, 1839, p. 25. By 1840 the comparative figures for communicants were: Trinity, ca. 300; Grace, 276; St. Paul's, 260; Christ Church, ca. 175; in this same year, Grace Church spent three to four thousand dollars for 'embellishing and putting in proper order the church edifice, and in the purchase of land adjoining the church.' *JM*, 1840, pp. 21–23; 1841, p. 30.

61. *JM*, 1840, p. 24. The parish of St. John's, Charlestown, had developed from the combined efforts of the Board of Missions and 'friends of the Church in Charlestown'. As usual at this period, meetings were held in a hall, the parish organized (in March 1840), and a minister, N. P. Bent, chosen. Plans for building were started at once, and Bishop Griswold dedicated the new church in November 1842. *JM*, 1840, pp. 36–37; *JED*, 1842, p. 16.

62. *JM*, 1844, pp. 22, 64.

63. *JM*, 1844, p. 22.

strong enough to make the office of rector attractive to men of Clark's character and position, both socially and in their preaching of their understanding of what the Episcopal Church stood for.[64] Not until 1848, when Bishop Eastburn instituted the Rev. Charles Mason as rector of Grace Church, did the diocese again exert itself for 'this important parish'.[65]

Unlike Grace Church, Boston, which had the financial backing of a group both of churchmen already members of other parishes, and of young businessmen and merchants who joined the Church, the founding and maintenance of other parishes in the diocese had to rely largely upon the Board of Missions for their origin and support. No one better could have pointed up the need for help in small and recently established parishes throughout the Diocese of Massachusetts than Bishop Griswold. Of course his addresses included his observations and recommendations for the Eastern Diocese, but as he visited annually practically every Episcopal society in Massachusetts, his suggestions carried weight. In 1830, 1831, and 1833, Griswold had to report the small number of clergymen available for rural or newly organized parishes.[66] The lack of clergymen rested primarily on the financial inability of the parishes to support a minister. The relative poverty of most rural parishes sprang not only from small membership, but from the fact that the Episcopal clergy, who spent a relatively longer time in studying for holy orders than the clergy of other Protestant churches, as Griswold noted, '. . . are too willing to believe, that their ministry will be useful in proportion to the number of those under their pastoral care, and to the provision made for their support'.[67] To supply more and better candidates, Griswold advocated the '. . . encouraging and bringing forward to the ministry those who appear to be

64. *JED*, 1835, p. 14.

65. *JM*, 1848, p. 11.

66. *JED*, 1830, p. 7; 1831, p. 19; 1833, p. 12.

67. *JED*, 1835, 14; 1833, p. 12. Bishop Griswold lamented the constant tide of emigration from New England 'continually and strongly setting to the West and South'. The loss of population from the rural areas of northern and western New England rightly impressed him. But as a country boy and part-time farmer, he may have underestimated the effect of business and industry on a city parish, e.g., Grace Church, Boston. *JED*, 1835, p. 15.

so deeply pious and devoted to God in a religious life, as to be willing to labor where the Lord shall call them . . . and educating of our candidates here in our own [i.e., the Eastern] Diocese'.[68]

The Diocese of Massachusetts had, as noted above, provided in part for the salary and expenses of the bishop by organizing a group known as the trustees of donations. To aid weak parishes, to maintain declining churches, and to succor new societies, a like group of clergy and laymen became incorporated, 14 June 1815, under the name of the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society.[69] The society operated with a restricted budget, about $1000 a year expenditure for the eight years 1822–30. Benjamin Howard was the society's treasurer.[70] In 1822–23, the society's officers and directors were, for the most part, members of the recently formed parish of St. Paul's, Boston, and the four largest contributors among the members belonged to St. Paul's.[71] According to Griswold's biographer, Stone, the society sank into a state of 'dormancy' after the diocesan convention of 1832, from which it was only awakened in 1836 by being merged with the newly created Board of Missions.[72] Officially the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society was

68. *JED*, 1835, p. 14.

69. The name of the corporation was: The Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society and Trustees of the Massachusetts Episcopal Prayer Book and Tract Society. The original incorporators were the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner, David Cobb, the Rev. Asa Eaton, Samuel Dunn, Thomas L. Winthrop, Joseph Head, Joseph Foster, Charles Williams, James C. Merrill, John Dixwell, the Rev. Lynde Walter, Charles W. Greene, and Shubael Bell; this group represented only two parishes in Boston, Trinity and Christ Church. *Annual Report of the Massachusetts Episcopal Missionary Society* (Boston, 1823), pp. 29–30.

70. Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 188.

71. The officers in 1822–23 were: President *ex officio*, Bishop Griswold; Vice-Presidents, Rev. A. Eaton, Rev. S. F. Jarvis, Stephen Codman; Secretaries, James C. Dunn and Enoch Hale, Jr., M.D.; Treasurer, Benjamin Howard; Directors, John Sowden, Francis Wilby, J. C. Warren, M. D., J. C. Merrill, *Annual Report*, p. 36. Rev. S. F. Jarvis, George Sullivan, John C. Warren, and Francis Wilby each gave $50. Although Gardiner Greene and Thomas L. Winthrop, both vestrymen at Trinity Church, did not belong to the society at this time, they each gave $100 for the year 1822–23. *Annual Report*, pp. 55, 56.

72. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 371, 377. The Massachusetts Episcopal Convocation, a clerical organization, entered the field of missionary work in the diocese and published the *Christian Witness*, beginning in 1835. It never had the support of the diocese generally. In 1839 it yielded missionary work of the six years of its existence to the Board of Missions, including 'the balance of the funds on hand'. Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 200–201; Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 376–390; *JM*, 1837, p. 44.

recognized by the diocese in its formal approval voted in the annual convention of 1826.[73] Attempting to combine all the missionary efforts of the diocese into a top-ranking, more efficient organization, the diocesan convention, meeting at the newly-opened Grace Church, Boston, in June 1836, adopted a resolution which created a 'Board of Missions for the Protestant Episcopal Church of Massachusetts'; this board was 'to consist of three clergymen and three laymen . . .'.[74] The strength of the board lay in its over-all awareness of the possibilities, needs, and resources of the Church in the towns and cities of the diocese.[75] The money-raising aspect of the board could not be its greatest strength, because the candidates for holy orders and the supply of clergymen did not match the needs of, or did not fulfill their office in, the smaller parishes satisfactorily. Bishop Griswold pointed out that a 'cooling of the love' between minister and people always began on the side of the clergyman. This 'cooling' process commenced by the minister's too frequently looking abroad for a better living than in a small rural parish.[76] Another difficulty which financial appropriations by the board could not solve was the lack of candidates for holy orders, who were children of wealthy churchmen. No minister in the diocese during Bishop Griswold's episcopacy had a Tyng, a Newton, a Sargent, a Sullivan, an Appleton, a Howard, a Warren, a Head, for a father. However 'socially' proper and desirable attendance at, or even membership in, an Episcopal parish may have been, to train for the ministry and then remain in the diocese as a successful rector was found only in the rare cases of a Morss, Strong, or Edson.[77] The financial position of the board revealed in the report of its treasurer, Benjamin Howard, in June 1843, shortly after Bishop Griswold's death, bettered any previous missionary effort. The

73. *JM*, 1825, pp. 191–192; *JM*, 1826, p. 208.

74. The Rev. James Morss proposed the resolution, which was adopted unanimously. *JM*, 1836, p. 57. Two more members were added in 1839, both of whom were clergymen. *JM*, 1839, pp. 17, 57.

75. The work of the Board of Missions for the church outside the diocese (domestic missions), and for foreign missions, of equal importance with diocesan missions as they are, are only noticed here when they become facts of local historical significance.

76. *JED*, 1837, p. 10.

77. Clark left the diocese permanently in 1850 for Connecticut, eventually to serve as its bishop from 1854 to 1903.

year's income, in round numbers, of $10,500, had been appropriated one-third for use within the diocese, and two-thirds for use outside.[78] Furthermore, the board occupied the position in the diocese of the one authority on 'the building and increase of churches in the Diocese . . .'.[79]

Visiting annually every church in the diocese as was his wont, Bishop Griswold did not comment especially on the external appearance or the inside arrangements of the churches in Massachusetts. In the instance of Trinity Church, Nantucket, however, the bishop made an exception in mentioning the interior of the building. The island of Nantucket had been made a 'missionary station' by the General Board of Missions, an organization of the Episcopal Church in the United States for purposes similar to the Board of Missions in the Diocese of Massachusetts.[80] The general board possessed an advantage over the diocesan board in that it had a greater number of missionaries to call upon for work in the mission field than did the local organization. Griswold first visited Nantucket late in October 1838, when he confirmed a number of persons. In September 1839, he consecrated the newly built Trinity Church there, with Moses Marcus of the Diocese of New York, as missionary in charge.[81] Marcus returned to New York in 1841, to be replaced at Nantucket by the Rev. Frederick W. I. Pollard, also of the Diocese of New York, but lately ministering in the small Episcopal society in Lynn, Massachusetts. In reporting his visit to Trinity, Nantucket, in 1841, Griswold stated to the Eastern Diocese that he '. . . was pained and mortified at the strange derangement of the reading-desk and the communion-table, and at other exhibitions within the chancel . . .'.[82] Trinity, Nantucket, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Pollard, first in the Diocese of Massachusetts drew the fire of Bishop Griswold and later, of Bishop Eastburn, for arranging the chancel so that the pulpit stood at one side and the

78. *JM*, 1843, pp. 90–91. The exact figure was $10,496.31. Of this total, Trinity, St. Paul's, and Grace Churches of Boston contributed $7,485.63. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

79. *JM*, 1843, pp. 52–53.

80. *JED*, 1838, p. 29.

81. *JED*, 1839, pp. 9–10; 1841, p. 15.

82. *JED*, 1841, pp. 15–16. Bishop Griswold's exchange of letters with the committee appointed by wardens and vestry of Trinity, Nantucket, are partially printed in Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 437–445.

altar, with the many possibilities of beautifying it, held the worshipper's attention at the middle or focal point of the church. The significance of this discussion lay in the fact that the typical and conventional design of the meetinghouse, on the inside especially, was still regarded as most suitable and usual for the services of the Episcopal Church. Any change in the traditional New England meetinghouse pattern, with reading desk or pulpit dominant, said Griswold, would be 'the absurdity of going back to the dark ages of Christianity for the models of our churches, or for the manner of worshipping in them . . .'.[83] Christ Church, Boston, together with the Episcopal churches at Cambridge, Marblehead, and Newburyport represented buildings of the traditional type of an earlier generation than Griswold's, but he dedicated churches at Hanover and Newton Lower Falls that reproduced or matched the earlier models. 'Let us not *look back to Egypt*, lest we *perish in the wilderness*', Griswold warned the Massachusetts diocese.[84] The tendency to such 'bondage', native to the Church in New York, came into Massachusetts from that diocese. It appeared to Griswold as a threat to the existence of the Diocese of Massachusetts from within the Church. The diocese did not recognize the bishop's complaint about Nantucket in its conventions. In 1842, however, the report of the Board of Missions stated that Nantucket's parish was one of five which 'may with the greatest certainty produce widely extended results'.[85]

Outside the church, and, in the opinion of Bishop Griswold, 'almost peculiar to this Diocese [i.e., the Eastern Diocese, but he might well have specified the Diocese of Massachusetts], was the continuing threat of Unitarianism'. Unitarianism obstructed the growth of the Episcopal Church both financially and numerically, Bishop Griswold felt.[86] This note of anxiety arose from criticism of

83. *JED*, 1841, p. 15. For a detailed description of the usual interior arrangement of Episcopal churches (which followed the earlier pattern of the Congregational churches) see W. W. Manross, *The Episcopal Church in the U. S., 1800–1840* (New York, 1938), p. 147.

84. *JED*, 1841, p. 16.

85. *JM*, 1842, p. 17. The other four missionary parishes were at Andover, Charlestown, Fall River, and Springfield. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

86. *JED*, 1837, p. 13.

the length of the Episcopal service on Sundays which dated from the early ministry of Jarvis at St. Paul's.[87] With no fixed form of worship or liturgy, the Unitarian and Orthodox parishes could time their services to suit the congregations. To the diocese as a whole, Unitarianism was a great threat. Yet there were marked similarities between Episcopalians and Unitarians. Both groups were politically conservative, believed in humanitarian and philanthropic organizations, and socially were friendly to the point of intermarriage.[88] The Unitarians were more socially prominent in Massachusetts, and more in the tradition of the 'established' church in Massachusetts. A case in point was Medford. In Medford's one parish, the Rev. Samuel Osgood, from his ordination in 1774, had not only abandoned the Calvinism of the Puritans, but had led the large majority of his flock 'quietly' to align themselves with the Unitarians.[89] One of this Unitarian majority in the parish was Peter Chardon Brooks. A few years later in Boston, he 'stood *in loco parentis*' to a recently married pair, the parents-to-be of Phillips Brooks.[90] Individuals and families became members of the Unitarian Church more by liberality, progress, open-mindedness, than by predetermined thought and action.[91] The case of the First Church in Medford was only one instance of the changes which

87. [Samuel F. Jarvis,] *A Narrative of Events, etc.* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 30, 77–78, 79 n. That the length of Morning Prayer was 'an impediment to the increase of our Church, and hurtful to its true interests', appeared in a petition submitted to general convention meeting in New York City in 1832. This petition, introduced by the Rev. Mr. Stone, rector of St. Paul's, Boston, and 'signed by a large number of the members of the Episcopal Churches and Congregations in Boston and its vicinity, of great respectability', received the attention of a joint committee of both houses. The whole subject was dismissed, ostensibly for lack of time, 'for a full and proper consideration' of it. *JGC*, 1832, pp. 53–54, 64–65, 89–90; *JED*, 1833, pp. 13–14.

88. O. B. Frothingham, *Boston Unitarianism, 1820–1850, A Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham* (New York and London, 1890), *passim.* Early Unitarian humanitarian societies were the Boston Port Society, 1829, and the Seamen's Aid Society, 1832. Frothingham, *Unitarianism*, pp. 65–66. R. H. Dana, III, Episcopal, married Edith Longfellow, Unitarian, in Appleton Chapel, 10 Jan. 1878. The couple chose as officiating clergymen 'Dr. Andrew P. Peabody of Harvard and Father Grafton of the Church of the Advent . . .'. Bliss Perry, *R. H. Dana, III* (Boston and New York, 1933), p. 101.

89. Charles Brooks, *History of the Town of Medford* (Boston, 1855), pp. 237, 246–248.

90. A. V. G. Allen, *Phillips Brooks* (New York, 1900, 2 vols.), I, 26–29.

91. Brooks, *Medford*, p. 248.

had been, and were occurring in towns throughout the Commonwealth.[92] Unitarianism within ten miles of Boston certainly challenged the Episcopal Church by reason of the former's great predominance. An appraisal of 'Episcopacy' in the Boston of the early 1820s by a Unitarian of a later generation characterized it as 'fashionable but feeble'.[93] Feeble in numbers, both of members and clergymen, it surely was. At the same time (1821), the Unitarians were gaining, but not so much did they gain from converts of no religion as they did from the conversions of majority or even minority groups from the Orthodox Congregational Church.[94] Bishop Griswold feared the unconstrainedness of the Unitarian form of worship, which could always be made to match the desires of its congregations, as to length at least. Lyman Beecher noted the gaining strength of the Unitarians and assigned the cause to Harvard. He said, in 1821, 'Their [the Unitarians'] power of corrupting the youth of the commonwealth by means of Cambridge is silently putting sentinels in all the churches, legislators in the hall, and judges on the bench, and scattering every where physicians, lawyers, and merchants'.[95] Bishop Griswold could look at Harvard and show

92. Henry Adams' account of the Unitarian reformation and the Orthodox counter-reformation in Massachusetts noted the familiar landmarks of the controversy: Henry Ware's appointment as Hollis Professor of Theology at Harvard (1805), the establishment of a theological seminary at Andover (1807), and Channing's Baltimore Sermon (1819). Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1891), I, 176–177. See also Abiel Abbot, *History of Andover* (Andover, 1829), pp. 119–123.

93. Frothingham, *Unitarianism*, p. 48. This designation of the Episcopal Church was written about 1890 when Phillips Brooks had been Trinity's rector for twenty years. A characterization of the Unitarians around Boston, in 1826, written by an Orthodox Churchman (Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe) about 1865, said: 'All the literary men of Massachusetts were Unitarian, all the trustees and professors of Harvard College were Unitarians. All the elite of wealth and fashion crowded Unitarian churches. The judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of [Orthodox] church organization . . . had been nullified.' Charles Beecher, ed., *Autobiography, Correspondence, etc. of Lyman Beecher, D.D.* (New York, 1865), II, 110. The English traveler, Buckingham, wrote in 1841 that, 'the Unitarians have a greater number of churches than any other single sect; their preachers are more eminent for learning and eloquence; and their congregations embrace nearly all the most wealthy and influential families of the City . . .'. He found that the Episcopalians, 'in respect to the opulence and station of their adherents . . . come next to the Unitarians'. J. S. Buckingham, *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive* (London, 3 vols. [1841]), III, 343–344.

94. Frothingham, *Unitarianism*, p. 227.

95. Beecher, *Beecher*, I, 449.

that only Brown University, however, furnished more graduates whom he ordained to holy orders than the university at Cambridge.[96] The real threat to both Episcopalians and Unitarians was the indifference to, and the unreality of, any religion among persons whose ability, both intellectual as well as financial, could have given a ministry to the churches, and means to support them. Henry Adams, looking at the period of the 1830s, said, '. . . neither to him[self] nor to his brothers and sisters was religion real. Even the mild discipline of the Unitarian Church was so irksome that they all threw it off at the first possible moment, and never afterward entered a church.'[97] Bishop Griswold met this unconcernedness with religion by preaching in season and out of season. The Diocese of Massachusetts owed everything but its bare survival to the singleness of purpose and the ability to promote good will, which were the strengths of Griswold's character.[98] His reasonable, evangelical conception of the Christian Church, and his rôle in it, promoted the cause of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts, despite the efforts and resources of the 'reformed' Orthodox Church, or of the Unitarians, or of the generality who were marked with 'the want of pious zeal and of the increase of faith and love'.[99]

Minutely scanning the member states of the Eastern Diocese as he did, Bishop Griswold proposed in 1837, that the Massachusetts convention 'elect an assistant [bishop] for that state'.[100] Such an election would mean that at Bishop Griswold's death (he was then in his 72nd year) the assistant would become bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts. What the Eastern Diocese did was to call a special meeting of the diocese for 10 January 1838, at St. Paul's, Boston.[101] Immediately groups of clergy and laity in Massachusetts

96. Of 141 college graduates ordained by Bishop Griswold, 36 were Brown, 32 Harvard, 12 Dartmouth, 10 Yale, etc. Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 388–394.

97. [Adams,] *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston and New York, 1918), p. 34.

98. Griswold may be rightly credited with keeping the Massachusetts Diocesan Conference of 1832 from fatally injuring the diocese. He gave important help, also, to the parishes of Salem, Marblehead, and Grace Church, Boston. His influence on Edson and T. M. Clark was notable.

99. *JED*, 1837, p. 13.

100. *JED*, 1837, pp. 14–15.

101. The Massachusetts members of the committee which called for the special session of the diocese were the Rev. T. Edson, of Lowell, and Samuel Cutler, Esq., of St. Paul's, Boston. The special session

challenged the right of the Eastern Diocese to elect a bishop.[102] The opposition centered in Trinity Church, Boston.

Boston held the focal place in the Eastern Diocese geographically and financially. Boston, too, 'was the place . . . where the main strength of the Diocese lay, and at which he [Bishop Griswold] might most readily gather round himself all needful influences of counsel and co-operation in his labors'.[103] The clergy and laymen near Boston urged, therefore, the settling of Bishop Griswold in or near Boston as early as 1813. It was not until 1829, however, that the bishop left Bristol, Rhode Island, and became rector of St. Peter's, Salem.[104] The Diocese of Massachusetts was solidly behind this move. Two years later, in 1831, the Massachusetts convention considered the question of withdrawing from the Eastern Diocese and 'having a Bishop exclusively to itself'.[105] To this proposal Bishop Griswold, through the Eastern Diocese, agreed; he also approved whatever the convention should decide as to its own dissolution. In the convention of the Eastern Diocese in 1835, Bishop Griswold urged that each state (especially Maine and New Hampshire) have its own diocesan, and the convention passed a resolution stating that 'it is expedient to dissolve the Eastern Diocese'.[106] Before the convention of 1836 met, Bishop White had died (17 July 1836), and Bishop Griswold had automatically become presiding bishop. No action for dissolution occurred at the convention

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was actually to be an adjourned session of the convention, by virtue of a resolution passed in the closing moments of the regular convention. *JED*, 1837, pp. 16, 19, 20.

102. [Jonathan M. Wainwright,] *Considerations on the Eastern Diocese, By a Presbyter of the Diocese of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1837); *Protest of the Laity of Trinity Church in the City of Boston Against the Election of any Assistant Bishop for the Eastern Diocese* (Boston, 1838). Defending the right of the Eastern Diocese to elect an assistant bishop was [Mark A. DeW. Howe], *The Right of the Eastern Diocese to Elect an Assistant Bishop* (Cambridge, 1838).

103. Stone, *Griswold*, p. 211.

104. Griswold was called to St. Peter's in 1813, but declined. So disappointed were the spokesmen (headed by Joseph Story, later Judge of the U. S. Supreme Court) for St. Peter's that they feared, 'the entire dispersion of the parish, or its secession from the Diocese' to a church that could supply it with a trained minister. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 211–214, 346–347.

105. *JM*, 1831, pp. 12, 17–18. E. A. Newton of Pittsfield introduced the subject of withdrawal at the annual convention, held at St. Paul's, Boston.

106. *JED*, 1831, p. 26; 1835, pp. 4, 7, 17–18. Vermont, as noted above, withdrew from the Eastern Diocese in 1832.

of 1836. Thus far the Trinity Church, Boston, delegates to the Eastern Diocese went along with, and voted for, the decisions of the Eastern Diocese.[107] When the question of episcopal election came up in 1837, seven of the Massachusetts clergy present voted against the choosing of an assistant bishop by a convention of the Eastern Diocese.[108] Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, rector of Trinity, Boston, and his assistant minister, John L. Watson, opposed the action of the Eastern Diocese. Shortly after the fall convention, laymen of Trinity Church published a protest which claimed for the Diocese of Massachusetts the exclusive right to elect an assistant bishop who would automatically succeed as bishop at Griswold's death. The protest added that 'independently and for herself' the Church in Massachusetts elected Griswold to be her bishop. The pamphlet asserted a home-rule attitude toward the Eastern Diocese, an attitude that could be felt in the Eastern Diocese, by reason of the weight and importance of the Massachusetts diocese.[109]

Trinity, of course, did not send delegates to the special session of the Eastern Diocese. The two-day session at St. Paul's, Boston, proceeded to the nomination after a formal protest by the venerable rectors of Newton and Lowell, Edson and Baury.[110] Of the four men for whom the clerical delegates cast their ballots, two were former rectors of St. Paul's, Boston, the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, and the Rev. Alonzo Potter. The third man was the then rector of St. Paul's, the Rev. J. S. Stone.[111] Stone had withdrawn his name as a candidate, and at his request the clergy balloted a second time,

107. *JED*, 1836, pp. 14–16.

108. Thirteen Massachusetts clergymen, including the Rev. J. S. Stone, St. Paul's, Boston, voted in favor of the Eastern Diocese convention. Among the seven voting against were the Rev. T. M. Clark of Grace, and the Revs. Wainwright and Watson of Trinity, Boston. *JED*, 1837, pp. 19–20.

109. Laymen of Trinity, *Protest*, pp. 4, 6–7, 15. The *Protest* closed by stating that no clerical or lay delegates would attend the special Eastern Diocese convention, as it would be uncanonical.

110. A third cleric joined Edson and Baury, the Rev. Daniel L. B. Goodwin, rector of St. John's, Wilkinsonville, in signing a recorded protest. *JED*, Jan. 1838, p. 14.

111. *JED*, Jan. 1838, p. 16. The fourth name to receive a vote was that of the Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, of St. Luke's, Rochester, New York. On the first ballot the vote was: Potter 21, Stone 14, Jarvis 1, Whitehouse 1.

which ballot gave all the votes to Potter. Thirty-four of the thirty-five lay votes concurred in naming Potter.[112] Potter's nomination showed at once how far in the background were the elements of party strife of 1831–32. It also revealed that no clergymen of the Eastern Diocese appeared to be of episcopal timber.[113] Two months later, in March 1838, Bishop Griswold, implementing the wishes of the convention, designated the Diocese of Massachusetts as the diocese to consider the election of an assistant bishop.[114]

At the annual convention of the Diocese of Massachusetts in June 1838, on the first ballot Potter received twenty of the twenty-five votes cast by the clergy, and the unanimous lay vote.[115] Bishop Griswold 'then declared the Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., to be chosen Assistant Bishop of the . . . Church in Massachusetts'.[116] The dénouement came next year when the committee named to advise Dr. Potter of his election reported to the annual convention of 1839 'that Dr. Potter found himself obliged to decline the appointment'.[117] Bishop Griswold continued to plead for an assistant bishop, but as Maine and New Hampshire had withdrawn from the Eastern Diocese by 1839, he left the matter with the several states which had composed and after 1839, did compose, the Eastern Diocese.[118] Finally, in August 1842, Bishop Griswold, acting 'under the advice of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Massachusetts', circularized the clergy and churches of the diocese, call-

112. Of the forty-seven clerical delegates, only thirty-one voted on the second ballot. Stone of St. Paul's subsequently remarked, 'The gentleman, nominated for election by State Convention, was the Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., upon whom, in any important question, it was easy to unite the main strength of the Diocese.' Stone, *Griswold*, p. 409.

113. Three of the clergy present from Massachusetts subsequently were elected bishops: T. M. Clark, T. H. Vail, and M. A. DeW. Howe, *Living Church Annual, 1951* (New York, Morehouse-Gorham), p. 358.

114. *JM*, 1838, pp. 47–48.

115. *JM*, 1838, p. 62. There was one vote for Stone and four blanks.

116. Two recorded protests were made by the Rev. Mark Howe, and the Rev. Thomas H. Vail; it was contended by these two men, afterwards bishops, that the Diocese of Massachusetts, while still a member of the Eastern Diocese, could not canonically elect its own bishop. *JM*, 1838, pp. 63–64.

117. *JM*, 1839, p. 55. As early as July 1838 Potter had indicated his refusal of the office of Bishop of Massachusetts. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, D.D., *Memoirs . . . of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1871), pp. 82–83.

118. *JED*, 1839, pp. 5, 15; 1840, p. 24; 1841, p. 23.

ing for a special meeting of the convention for 27 September at Trinity, Boston.[119] This body did not consider Potter again, as, forewarned, Potter 'had felt it his duty to repress the movement . . .'.[120] Voting by orders, the clergy cast thirty-nine votes, all for the Rev. Manton Eastburn, D.D., of New York. The lay delegates, representing thirty-one churches, likewise gave all their votes to Eastburn, as 'Assistant Bishop of the Diocese'.[121] The committee to inform the Rev. Manton Eastburn of his unanimous election consisted of the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, St. Paul's, and the Rev. John L. Watson, Trinity, Boston, Charles R. Codman, senior warden of Trinity, and William Appleton.[122] Manton Eastburn received the laying on of hands in Trinity Church, Boston, on 29 December 1842, the consecrators being Bishops Griswold, Brownell, B. T. Onderdonk, and DeLancey.[123] In order to provide a suitable salary for the new assistant bishop, Trinity, Boston, elected him its rector on 9 October 1842.[124] Bishop Griswold died 15 February 1843, less than seven weeks after his assistant's consecration.

119. *JM*, Sept. 1842, p. 6.

120. Howe, *Potter*, p. 98. William Appleton was a warm friend of Potter's and kept him advised of diocesan affairs.

121. *JM*, Sept. 1842, p. 20.

122. *JM*, Sept. 1842, p. 25.

123. *Living Church Annual, 1951*, p. 356.

124. *Trinity Church*, p. 56.

CHAPTER X

AT the annual diocesan convention of 1843, Bishop Eastburn included in his address the record of Bishop Griswold's last official acts, from 19 June 1842 until his death, for the churches in Massachusetts. Bishop Eastburn planned 'an entire Visitation of the Diocese', to start about 1 July 1843.[1] What was the over-all aspect of the Church in Massachusetts at this time?

In what proved to be his last report on the churches in Massachusetts, Bishop Griswold during the year between the annual conventions of the Eastern Diocese, from September 1841 to September 1842, visited all the churches in Massachusetts, 'where we have ministers, with the exception of Ashfield . . .'.[2] Most of the traveling the bishop did was by stagecoach or horseback. Beginning in the summer of 1835, the railroad provided transportation from Boston to Lowell and from Boston to Worcester. It was not until 1841, however, that the Boston to Albany run was opened.[3] The first mention of railroad travel in Griswold's journal or correspondence was in a letter to his wife written from Pittsfield on 25 August 1842, after he 'took the railroad cars' to that place from Westfield.[4] The bishop made two observations on this journey. 'The scenery', which he noted and never tired of commenting upon, 'through the mountains to Pittsfield is awfully sublime.' Then he added, 'So much money has been expended in cutting through rocks, making bridges, etc., that the stockholders will not soon, if ever, be remunerated.'[5]

1. *JM*, 1843, pp. 19–25.

2. The year between conventions was 29 Sept. 1841 to 28 Sept. 1842. *JED*, 1841, p. 7; 1842, p. 10.

3. Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), IV, 128–129, 138.

4. The letter is quoted in John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1884), p. 506.

5. Quoted in Stone, *Griswold*, p. 506. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., noted the

In Berkshire County, St. Stephen's, Pittsfield, was widely known in the diocese because of its prominent lay member, Edward Augustus Newton, who by reason of his interest in missions and theological education, received recognition as well in the General Convention. By no means, though, was religion acted upon lightly in Berkshire County. As the candidates for confirmation were few, Bishop Griswold remarked that 'well may the minister of Christ address them in the words of a prophet, "How long halt ye between two opinions." '[6] The parishes were in a 'state of self-isolation', and evidenced no interest in the diocese.[7] Of the important industries of Berkshire County, the woolen, cotton, and iron manufactures were centered at Great Barrington and Pittsfield, which towns were also centers of a sustained though limited interest in the Episcopal form of worship. Although in the case of Pittsfield an English immigrant began the manufacture of broadcloth, the industries in western Massachusetts did not draw English operatives or even local hands in numbers comparable to the more eastern parts of the state.[8]

East of Berkshire were, from north to south, Franklin, Hamp-

'track painfully built through the Berkshire Hills . . . at an average rate of twenty miles a year . . .'. Winsor, *Boston*, IV, 135.

6. *JED*, 1842, p. 18. The parishes in Berkshire were at Pittsfield, Great Barrington, Lenox, Stockbridge, Van Deusenville (a section of Great Barrington), Otis, and Lanesborough. *JM*, 1842, p. 70. The Episcopal Chapel, Trinity, at Van Deusenville was built in 1829 by Isaac L. Van Deusen, who also built a woolen mill here in 1822–23, and a cotton goods mill in 1828. Charles J. Taylor, *History of Great Barrington, (Berkshire County), Massachusetts* (Great Barrington, 1882), pp. 411–414.

7. An example of Berkshire parishes was St. Luke's, Lanesborough. It was blessed with the services of one rector, Samuel B. Shaw, for thirty-four years and was the largest parish west of Worcester County, but the parish never grew. Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 84–85. The remoteness of Berkshire from Boston was apparent to a dweller in Stockbridge, who wrote in 1844, 'Till recently it [Berkshire] has, from its sequestered position, remained in obscurity. Its communication with its own capital, even, has been impeded by the high and rugged hills that inclose it. But now [with the opening of the Western Railroad] the hills are brought low, and the rough places are made smooth.' Catharine M. Sedgwick, 'Berkshire', *Graham's American Monthly Magazine*, XXVI, no. 1 (July 1844), p. 6.

8. The other important industry was mining of marble and iron. Josiah G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1855, 2 vols.), I, 361; II, 558–560. English-born Arthur Scholfield made woolen broadcloth at Pittsfield in 1804. J. E. A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield, (Berkshire County), Massachusetts, from the Year 1734 to the Year 1800* (Boston, 1869), II, 162, 170.

shire, and Hampden Counties, bisected by the Connecticut River.[9] The outstanding parish in Franklin County was St. James', Greenfield. In 1835 Henry Wells Clapp, a goldsmith and a jeweler who had been in business in New York City, settled in Greenfield. Through his devotion to St. James' Church, and by his civic and industrial interests, especially in connection with railroad building, he was to do much for the Episcopal Church.[10] Griswold reported in 1842 of St. James' and its rector, Titus Strong, that 'we still find that happy union and active zeal, of minister and people, which, for almost thirty years, has been, without interruption, continued'.[11]

In Hampshire there was but a single parish, St. John's, Northampton. Bishop Griswold's son, the Rev. George Griswold, had been the first minister in this parish, but had served only one year because of incipient tuberculosis.[12] Round Hill School had failed in 1833, its headmaster, Joseph Green Cogswell, accepting a teaching position under Bishop Ives at Raleigh, North Carolina.[13] This school's closing materially injured the Church. St. John's numbered only sixteen communicants in 1838, but in 1842 ten candidates for confirmation presented themselves before Bishop Griswold. At the same time the bishop stated that, 'By the exertions of their minister, the Rev. Dr. [Orange] Clark, and the aid of some gentlemen from Boston and New York, their house is at length nearly freed from debt.'[14]

9. At the time of Bishop Griswold's consecration, Hampshire County comprised both Franklin and Hampden Counties. The latter two were set apart from Hampshire and incorporated in 1811 and 1812, respectively. *Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities and Towns in Massachusetts*, prepared by Frederic W. Cook, Secretary of the Commonwealth ([Boston,] 1948), p. 7.

10. Francis M. Thompson, *History of Greenfield* (Greenfield, Mass., 1904, 2 vols.), II, 847.

11. *JED*, 1842, p. 18. The other parishes in Franklin were Montague and Ashfield, both small.

12. George Griswold had taken over at St. Paul's, Boston, until Alonzo Potter was named rector in 1826; he died in 1829. Stone, *Griswold*, p. 541.

13. John Spencer Bassett, 'The Round Hill School', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series*, XXVII (April 1917), 53.

14. *JM*, 1840, p. 62; *JED*, 1842, p. 18. There were 515 members in the First Church, of which Jonathan Edwards had been pastor, in 1843. The other churches in Northampton, in 1843, which had a population of some 3750 in 1840, were, in addition to St. John's, the Unitarian (1825), the Baptist Church (1828), the Edwards

Hampden County had two Episcopal societies, Christ Church in Springfield, and a kind of stepchild, St. Mark's, Blandford. When woolgrowing was an important industry in western Massachusetts, towns like Blandford were relatively prosperous.[15] Dissatisfied by their minister's preaching of the 'doctrine of unconditional election', a part of the congregation started a new church, 'after the form of the Church of England'.[16] The new society built St. Mark's Church in 1830 and apparently had an endowment fund to pay for a preacher.[17] The number of members was in single figures, however, and the society became inactive.[18] Bishop Griswold valued the small rural parishes equally with the larger urban parishes. During only one year, he preached five times in Ashfield, six times in Otis, and seven times in Blandford.[19] He realized that the Episcopal Church could draw and hold churchgoers, who had drifted away from the Church Establishment in Massachusetts, only by the regularity of weekly services. He urged, 'that a minister should officiate constantly in one place, then in two or more'.[20] The Diocese of Massachusetts did not, and could not, provide full-time ministers for parishes having but two or three score communicants. Another factor in the weakness of rural parishes was the want of knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer. Persons who gathered together to form an Episcopal society, did so primarily to listen to preaching which would be neither Calvinistic, controversial, nor revival, but which would be, to them, Orthodox, i.e., preaching the gospel.[21] The prayer book with its fixed, though varying, orders of worship,

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Church (1832), the Methodist Episcopal Church (1843). A Roman Catholic church was built about 1845. William Allen, D.D., *An Address Delivered at Northampton Mass., on the Evening of October 29, 1854, in Commemoration of the Close of the Second Century Since the Settlement of the Town* (Northampton, 1855), p. 54.

15. Blandford had in 1846 more sheep than inhabitants, besides a factory for making woolen cloth. John Hayward, *Gazetteer of Massachusetts, etc.* (Boston, 1849 [1846]), p. 38.

16. Holland, *Western Massachusetts*, II, 13.

17. William H. Gibbs, *An Address Delivered Before The Literary Association, Blandford, Mass., September 21st, 1850 Upon the History of That Town* (Springfield, 1850), pp. 42–43.

18. *JM*, 1839, p. 43.

19. *JED*, 1835, p. 13.

20. *JED*, 1836, p. 11.

21. Bishop Griswold wrote, 'There is no other preaching, that will be so successful in changing the heart and turning men to God, as preaching the word in *plainness* and *sincerity* . . . [and] by preaching the Cross of Christ.' Stone, *Griswold*, p. 566.

and its forms for the administration of the sacraments was far too little known, and seldom appreciated. The parochial demand and supply for prayer books was steady, but awareness and study of its inspirational values did not inevitably follow.[22]

Christ Church in Springfield after 1821 caused the diocese some anxiety as the population of Springfield made it one of the first ten towns or cities in the Commonwealth, and the number of Episcopalians was 'too few in number and means to build a church'.[23] Christ Church parish was finally established in 1839. Bishop Griswold dedicated the church building 1 April 1840, with Henry W. Lee, rector.[24] This church subsequently became the Cathedral, and Springfield the see city, of the Diocese of Western Massachusetts. The great fact about Christ Church was the nearly thirty-year rectorship (1878–1907) of John Cotton Brooks, brother of Phillips Brooks.[25] At Bishop Griswold's death there were eighty-three communicants of this church.[26]

In Worcester County, the cotton and woolen industry were closely allied to the only two Episcopal societies in the county. The younger parish, St. John's, Wilkinsonville (a village of Sutton), appeared to Bishop Griswold to be a model one, especially in regard to music and congregational responses in the services. The number of communicants at St. John's was eighty-five.[27] Christ Church, Clappville (Leicester), suffered from the closing down of the factories, and until they 'shall again be in operation, our church there must continue in a feeble state'.[28] The sons of Samuel Slater practically endowed the church at Wilkinsonville.[29] Clappville's

22. *JM*, 1842, p. 55. The situation today is much the same.

23. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, pp. 321–329; *JED*, 1836, p. 11. The population of Springfield was 6784 in 1830, and 10,985 in 1840.

24. Henry W. Lee was the son of Lt. Col. Roswell Lee, who as Commandant of the U. S. Armory, in 1815, gathered a few families together in the Armory hall for Episcopal services conducted by Titus Strong. *JED*, 1840, p. 13; James C. Sharp, *John Cotton Brooks* (Cambridge, 1909), pp. 44–47.

25. Sharp, *Brooks*, pp. 48, 184.

26. *JM*, 1843, p. 94; Christ Church was one of at least twelve churches in Springfield including one Unitarian and one Roman Catholic, in 1847. Holland, *Massachusetts*, II, 118–126.

27. *JED*, 1842, p. 17; *JM*, 1843, p. 94.

28. *JED*, 1840, pp. 12–13.

29. *Historical Notes Relating to St. John's Church, Wilkinsonville, Mass.*, compiled by the Rev. Samuel Hodgkiss (n.p., 1900), p. 9.

parish remained small and was of little importance in the diocese, apart from its being the first in Worcester County. Rightly judging what was to be the future importance of the town of Worcester, Thomas March Clark, in 1839, told the annual Massachusetts convention, 'that it becomes the Episcopal Church to let its doctrines and services be made known there very speedily'.[30] Bishop Griswold, likewise, had already asserted, in 1834, that Worcester was 'one of the places where we ought long since to have had a Church well established'.[31] Just a month before he died, he preached twice at Worcester, and confirmed five persons.[32] In April 1844 the small Episcopal society in Worcester organized itself into All Saints' Church, and as usual held services in a hall, while churchmen of Boston and Worcester raised funds for a church building.[33]

West of the eastern boundary of Worcester County the Diocese of Massachusetts numbered, then, in 1843, fifteen parishes.[34]

Of the nine counties in Massachusetts situated generally east of Worcester County, Barnstable and Dukes had no Episcopal parishes. In Middlesex County, St. Paul's parish, Hopkinton, represented the survival of a mid-eighteenth-century parish into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, with litigation involving the glebe lands. The outcome of this leasing of lands belonging to the Church through a committee of the trustees of donations, composed of Dudley A. Tyng and Shubael Bell, to a lessee named Samuel Valentine, Jr., was a small new St. Paul's Church in Hopkinton with a two-hundred-dollar bell. Financial difficulties prevented the church from remaining open after Bishop Griswold consecrated it in October 1818, and it was only open occasionally during the balance of his episcopate.[35] The eighteenth-century romance, culmi-

30. *JM*, 1839, p. 17.

31. *JED*, 1834, p. 11.

32. *JM*, 1843, p. 24. Griswold visited Worcester on 15 Jan. 1843.

33. *JM*, 1845, p. 77.

34. *JM*, 1843, p. 94. The number of communicants based on the figures available was 676, or 1 out of 346.35 persons based on the population figures for 1840. Four other centers of interest in the Episcopal Church noted by Bishop Griswold were New Boston (Tolland), North Adams, Southwick, and 'a new parish' in Webster. *JED*, 1830, p. 10; 1835, pp. 12, 13.

35. The troublesome, but from a diocesan standpoint unimportant, history of St. Paul's appears in *Abstract of Trustees of Donations*, pp. 31–32, 40, 52–54, 77–81, 86–87. The Rev. A. L. Baury of Newton Lower Falls finally recovered the whole

nating in marriage, of Sir Charles Henry Frankland and Agnes Surriage of Marblehead, sets the Episcopal society at Hopkinton apart in a unique way for students of American literature of the nineteenth century.[36]

Lowell and Cambridge shared honors as the leading parishes in Middlesex, with Lowell's St. Anne's parish gaining ground steadily under the long rectorship of Theodore Edson. Christ Church in Cambridge, a carry-over from a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel foundation, received the benefit of a thoroughgoing diocesan survey and help, but only took front rank under the long tenure of Nicholas Hoppin of Brown University, who was its minister and rector from 1839 to 1874.[37] Both St. Anne's, Lowell, and Christ Church had members who found it more convenient to worship not in the parish church. Thus grew up St. Luke's, Lowell, and St. Peter's, Cambridgeport. St. Luke's parish set an example for the diocese by the manner in which its members established it. The new society sprang from the peaceful setting off of 'a number of families from the old parish [St. Anne's] to be the nucleus of a new one'.[38] This division did not result in loss of numbers from the older parish, as Griswold found that the 'pews vacated in the old church are already occupied by new members'.[39] He laid the cornerstone of St. Luke's in August 1842, and during two visits to Lowell this same year he confirmed 156 persons.[40] A writer in 1846, when Lowell had been a city for ten years, described it as 'this large manufacturing city [which] has arisen from an Indian fishing station . . . [and] was commenced, continued, and is sustained solely by the wisdom, energy, industry, and wealth of Massachusetts people . . .'.[41] The writer could have added that the

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property for the parish; he also preached occasionally at St. Paul's. *JM*, 1871, pp. 63–65.

36. Elias Nason, *Sir Charles Henry Frankland, Bart.* (Albany, 1865); E. L. Bynner, *Agnes Surriage* (Boston, 1887); O. W. Holmes, 'Agnes', *Complete Poetical Works* (Cambridge ed., Boston and New York, 1895). Frankland's diary is at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

37. *JM*, 1840, pp. 33–34; 1874, p. 97.

38. *JED*, 1840, p. 12.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *JED*, 1842, pp. 16–17; *JM*, 1843, pp. 20–21.

41. Lowell's population in 1840 was 20,796; in 1844 it was 25,163. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, pp. 187, 190, 325. The parish of St. Anne's purchased their church building for $12,000 from the Merrimack Co.

Episcopal societies in Lowell were continued and are sustained largely by the wisdom and energy of Theodore Edson.

Christ Church, Cambridge, remained small, and even grew smaller, when a number of families transferred their membership in it to St. Peter's, Cambridgeport, in 1842. Unlike the Church of England practice of establishing chapels of ease—Trinity Church parish in New York City contained a number of such chapels—Episcopal societies in the Diocese of Massachusetts, which gathered together a group in the same town, formed independent parishes.[42] These new parishes almost invariably commenced their worship in a rented hall, and looked to the diocese for help, not to the parent society. There was an element of Congregationalism in this desire to identify a parish only with the building in which it worshipped. From a financial standpoint, however, the parishes of Massachusetts received support only for their own clergy and church building within the society, and for missions and missionary work without the parish, bestowed either directly or through the diocese. St. Peter's, organized in October 1842 for those thirty-five families 'living nearer' Cambridgeport, received from Richard H. Dana of Boston, 'the generous donation of a valuable piece of land in Cambridgeport . . . [which] will be of great service to the interests of the Church'.[43] Bishop Griswold celebrated what was to be his last Christmas by preaching twice at Cambridgeport and there administering Holy Communion.[44]

Next to Lowell in population, Charlestown did not gather an Episcopal society until 1840.[45] Griswold pointed out this year that it was 'discreditable to our zeal, as Churchmen, that the attempt has been so long neglected'. This neglect centered in the lack of understanding of persons favoring the Episcopal Church of its Book of Common Prayer. Many churchgoers attending an Episcopal service were more alert to resemblances than to differences in

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on 1 March 1843, which sum, reported the Rev. Mr. Edson, was 'raised among ourselves'. *JM*, 1843, p. 69.

42. Rev. William Berrian, D.D., *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York* (New York, 1847), pp. 77–83, 134.

43. *JM*, 1843, pp. 67–68.

44. *JM*, 1843, p. 23.

45. Charlestown's population in 1840 was 11,484.

that worship and other Protestant forms of worship. Bishop Griswold consecrated St. John's Church, Charlestown, on 10 November 1841. He confirmed thirty-one candidates, and might have confirmed 'many others [who] were desirous to be confirmed, but it was thought expedient that they should wait for further instructions in the doctrines and usages of the Episcopal Church'.[46] Prior to the organization of St. John's, some Charlestown families had been members of Grace Church, Boston.[47]

The other parish in Middlesex County was St. Mary's, Newton Lower Falls. This parish, 'as in times past', Bishop Griswold found, 'continues . . . united and increasing'.[48] Its great rector, Alfred Louis Baury, also served the diocese greatly.

In a survey of the seven parishes in Essex County in 1842–43, St. Paul's, Newburyport, stood as a strong outpost of the diocese together with its daughter parish, St. James', Amesbury, across the Merrimack River. The smallness of St. James' Church building regrettably kept the parish small.[49] Salem's St. Peter's led the Essex churches in number of members. At the close of his rectorship at St. Peter's, Bishop Griswold consecrated its 'new stone church', and in 1837 he instituted the Rev. Charles Mason as rector.[50] St. Michael's, Marblehead, had claimed Bishop Griswold's close supervision at least since 1821. In that year the 'decayed parish' of St. Michael's was willing to sell its land and church building to a young Congregational society. Asserting the strength, and to his mind the rightness, of the episcopal form of church government, Bishop Griswold urged that Congregational societies with 'their inefficient system' could not save the parish.[51] Despite the comings and goings of seven ministers, in twenty years, from 1832 St. Michael's appeared to be on a solid footing.[52] Christ Church, An-

46. *JED*, 1842, pp. 15–16.

47. *JM*, 1840, p. 24.

48. *JED*, 1842, p. 17.

49. *JED*, 1842, p. 16.

50. *JED*, 1836, p. 9; 1837, p. 7. The Rev. Charles Mason, son of the Hon. Jeremiah Mason, married Susan Lawrence in 1838; she was a sister of Amos Adams Lawrence. The results of this marriage had some influence on the diocese after Griswold's death. William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence, etc.* (Boston and New York, 1888), *passim*. See below. St. Peter's reported 142 communicants in 1843. *JM*, 1843, p. 94.

51. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 269–271.

52. Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, I, 479–480; *JED*, 1832, p. 8; 1842, p. 16.

dover, organized and built by an Englishman and a member of the Church of England, and his son-in-law, was just emerging as a church which was to have 'some of the most honored and influential names of Andover citizens' for its parishioners.[53] The pattern used in establishing Christ Church, Andover, bettered the earlier method at Lowell, Clappville, and Wilkinsonville. The two remaining parishes in Essex, Ipswich, and Lynn, relied largely on the diocesan Board of Missions for their support. Christ Church parish, Ipswich, gave up holding services late in 1840 on account of a division of opinion among 'the few active men of our society', joined with the fact of 'the scantiness of our missionary funds . . .'.[54] Christ Church, Lynn, was consecrated by Bishop Griswold on 20 July 1837; its location on Lynn Common provided Episcopal services for summer residents of Nahant and Swampscott.[55] The debt of the parish incurred through buying land and building a church could not be paid off. In 1841 the diocese decided 'for the present to relinquish that [parish] as a missionary station', and the parishioners temporarily scattered.[56]

Of the seven parishes in Suffolk County, Boston's Trinity and St. Paul's had about the same number of communicants.[57] After the disturbed years of G. W. Doane's rectorship at Trinity, and a short period under Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, the assistant minister, the Rev. John L. Watson gave the 'large and prosperous' parish a peaceful and an able ministry.[58] The Rev. Alexander Hamilton

53. Griswold consecrated Christ Church on 31 Oct. 1837. The founder of the parish was Abraham Marland, of the Marland Mfg. Co. at Andover. His son-in-law was Benjamin H. Punchard. *JED*, 1838, pp. 15–16; Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover* (Boston, 1880), pp. 489–492. The founders of Christ Church were a group of men of enough wealth and of sufficient numbers to assure the maintenance of this Episcopal society.

54. *JM*, 1841, p. 36; *JED*, 1841, pp. 18–19. The Rev. F. A. Wadleigh reported in 1840, 'The attempt to establish the services of the Church has been made among a people hitherto almost wholly unacquainted with the book of Common Prayer, and in a village of inconsiderable magnitude.' *JM*, 1840, p. 32.

55. *JED*, 1837, p. 8.

56. *JED*, 1841, p. 18; *JM*, 1845, p. 65.

57. The figures reported for June 1843 were Trinity 350, St. Paul's 350, Grace 321, Christ Church 241. *JM*, 1843, p. 94.

58. Mayhew resigned in 1838. Watson had come in 1836, transferred from the Diocese of New York. *JED*, 1836, p. 7; 1838, p. 17. Trinity might have continued satisfactorily for several years without a rector, had there been a diocesan fund for supporting a bishop.

Vinton, instituted 11 May 1842 at St. Paul's, was creating ties in Boston which were to be lifelong. Bishop Griswold found Grace and Christ Churches doing well.[59] St. Matthew's Church, South Boston, felt the effects of an unusually large number of 'death and removals', but increase in attendance at, and interest in, the church offset these losses.[60] The Free Church of the Episcopal City Mission Society provided three services each Sunday, and other missionary work for children and adults in Boston. The final parish in Suffolk, Mount Zion Church, Chelsea, met the needs of a 'little flock', gathered in that rapidly growing town. The wardens of this church, reporting to the diocese in 1842, indirectly attributed the origin of the parish to 'the ferry, which now connects it [Chelsea] with the city of Boston . . .'.[61]

Norfolk County numbered four parishes. Christ Church, Quincy, in 1842, was in a 'desponding state'. The number of communicants revealed no permanent growth; also, reported their rector, the Rev. John P. Robinson, 'the means of the people are very limited'.[62] The survival of the parish, after the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel withdrew its annual contribution of sixty pounds sterling in 1777, rested on 'a moderate amount of landed property', valued in 1764 at $1250.[63] The Revolution awoke 'those party views and feelings . . . of gentle excitement', which forbade 'the hope of much religious improvement'.[64] No marked change occurred until after the Civil War. Although the date of the organization of Christ Church is given as 1704, to the rector of that parish

59. *JED*, 1842, p. 15.

60. *JM*, 1842, p. 31; 1843, p. 58.

61. *JED*, 1842, p. 16; *JM*, 1842, pp. 33–34. The wardens of Mt. Zion Church, Ruggles Slack and Samuel Cleland, stated that Chelsea 'now [1842] contains from 2000 to 2500 inhabitants, which has increased from about fifty, since July 1833 when the ferry . . . was opened'. Hayward's *Gazetteer*, p. 327, gives Chelsea's population as 771 in 1830, and 2390 in 1840. The number of communicants in Suffolk County was 1425, of whom 1386 belonged to parishes in Boston. *JM*, 1843, p. 94.

62. *JM*, 1843, pp. 60, 61. Bishop Griswold did not visit Quincy in 1842. He dedicated Christ Church on 27 Nov. 1832. *JED*, 1842, p. 14; 1833, p. 13.

63. The rent from 'a house and glebe' provided by the subscription of $1246.67 kept the church building in repair, 'and afforded the occasional services of clergymen'. Benjamin C. Cutler, *A Sermon Preached in Christ Church, Quincy, . . . on Christmas Day, 1827* (Cambridge, 1828), p. 23, n. 2, p. 24.

64. Cutler, *Sermon*, p. 18; *JM*, 1869, p. 103.

in 1827 it was a 'new church'.[65] The Episcopal society at Dedham, another one of the 'glorious fourteen' pre-Revolutionary parishes, had a resident minister only from the end of 1821. First known as Christ Church (1795), later (1813) as St. Paul's, it had not only a very small parish but a poor and mean church building.[66] What maintained the parish at all was landed property, gifts of money, and the ministry at St. Paul's of Samuel Brazier Babcock from the time of his student years in theology until his death some forty years later.[67] The post-Revolutionary parish of St. James', Roxbury, was established in 1833; land was obtained as 'near the house of Robert Auchmuty, Esq., as shall be thought needful or proper for such a building', and the 'beautiful stone Church' was consecrated by Bishop Griswold in 1834.[68] The Rev. Mark A. DeWolfe Howe served as rector of this parish from 1837 to 1847, but he also ministered in it for its two first years.[69] Bishop Griswold urged the support of this parish, and with 'the liberal aid' provided by Boston friends, the parish grew. Howe returned as rector in 1837, and de-

65. Cutler, *Sermon*, p. 21. By 'new church' Cutler meant that the society in 1827 had only had a settled minister for five years (since 1822), and that it found the idea of 'gradation of authority' in the clerical ranks, and the liturgies of the prayer book 'new' things. The more congenial atmosphere of a Congregational society deprived Christ Church parish of 'a number of families [who] withdrew from that Church' in 1832. *JED*, 1834, p. 10; *JM*, 1832, p. 27. The town of Quincy was organized from a section of Braintree in 1792. Cook, *Historical Data*, p. 55. Episcopal clergymen who were near relatives of Benjamin Clarke Cutler were: the Rt. Rev. Samuel Parker, the Revs. Samuel Parker, Benjamin Clarke Cutler Parker, Theodore Edson, and Nicholas Hoppin. See the Rev. Abner Morse, A.M., *A Genealogical Record of Several Families Bearing the Name of Cutler in the United States* (Boston, 1867), *passim*.

66. The Rev. Samuel B. Babcock, Rector, *A Historical Discourse etc.* (Dedham, Mass., 1846), p. 16; *JM*, 1795, p. 48; 1813, p. 120; 1836, p. 23.

67. The leases of St. Paul's property in 1827 netted $700 annually. Erastus Worthington, *The History of Dedham From 1635 . . . to 1827* (Boston, 1827), p. 125; 'Madame Esther Sprague' gave $500 to the parish in 1807. Babcock, *Discourse*, p. 15. Babcock, a Harvard graduate (1830), was made a deacon by Bishop Griswold in 1832, served at St. Paul's from that time, was ordained by Bishop Griswold in 1833, and remained as rector of St. Paul's until his death in 1873. Batchelder, *Eastern Diocese*, II, 73.

68. Francis S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury* (Roxbury, 1878), p. 210; *JED*, 1833, p. 13; 1834, p. 15.

69. The Rev. Mark Howe, later first Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, was one of the notable group of Brown graduates who ministered in the diocese; he was Class of 1828. He served as secretary of the Eastern Diocese for 1836 and the two sessions of 1837. *JED*, 1836, 1832, Jan. 1838.

spite a large debt on the property in 1843, St. James' stood sixth in number of communicants among the churches of the Diocese of Massachusetts.[70] An American-type chapel of ease of St. James', Roxbury, provided Episcopal services from 1840. Three miles from St. James', 'in the beautiful village of Jamaica Plain', grew up an Episcopal society as part of Howe's 'parochial cure'. By 1842 this society had built a church seating some 230 persons and owned an acre of land next to the church. Bishop Griswold consecrated this chapel by the name of St. John's Church in 1841. St. John's was first organized as a parish in 1843. Bishop Griswold encouraged this church in 1842, by visiting it three times.[71] The proximity of Roxbury to Boston created a 'natural alliance' which subsisted between them, aiding the church in the former place. It also illustrated a contrast between 'the crowded state of one [Boston], and the romantic beauties of the other', which had early made Roxbury a site for country seats of some Bostonians.[72]

Unlike the counties north and west of Boston, Plymouth County had no commercial or manufacturing centers comparable to Salem or Lowell. The population of Plymouth County, too, numbered somewhat less than other mainland counties having Episcopal societies.[73] The three Plymouth parishes of Marshfield, Hanover, and Bridgewater were small.[74] The two latter parishes had some endowments in the original form of real estate. Dislike of the Episcopal Church in Hanover centered around the Stockbridge family, which was suspected to have been Loyalist in outlook. The parish grew slowly, however, and built a new St. Andrew's Church, which was

70. *JED*, 1835, p. 12; 1836, p. 11; 1842, p. 14; *JM*, 1843, pp. 62, 94. St. Anne's, Lowell, ranked fifth in the diocese. The other four were Boston parishes. Roxbury stood eighth in population among Massachusetts cities and towns in 1840. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, pp. 321–329.

71. *JM*, 1840, p. 27; 1841, pp. 41–42; 1843, p. 62; *JED*, 1841, p. 17; 1842, p. 14.

72. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, pp. 254–255. Martin Brimmer had as his home the original estate of Sir Francis Bernard on Jamaica Pond. Drake, *Roxbury*, pp. 428–429. From the 'center' of Boston to the 'center' of Roxbury was three miles.

73. Of mainland counties east of Worcester, only Barnstable County, with no Episcopal society in 1843, had less population than Plymouth. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, p. 329.

74. Total communicants in Plymouth County in 1843 was 197; St. Andrew's had 129 of this figure. *JM*, 1843, p. 94.

the first church consecrated by Bishop Griswold in Massachusetts.[75] Griswold confirmed sixty-four persons in St. Andrew's in 1842, which trebled the number of communicants reported two years before.

The three parishes in Bristol County at Taunton, Fall River, and New Bedford were all incorporated after 1819. St. Thomas', Taunton, which dated its origin from 1739–40, was actually a new parish dating from 1820, but 'retaining the same name thanks to a proper reverence for the past'.[76] Bishop Griswold in his last visit to Taunton, found St. Thomas' 'recovering' from a change in ministers, Bent being the incumbent.[77] The Church of the Ascension, Fall River, and Grace Church, New Bedford, being more in the sphere of Rhode Island's influence than that of Boston, grew up from early missionary efforts by the Rhode Island Clerical Convocation. The Church of Rome preceded the Episcopal society in New Bedford by some fifteen years, but in Fall River, St. Mary's Roman Catholic parish was organized the same year as the Church of the Ascension.[78] Both Fall River and New Bedford were large towns before

75. The histories of Trinity, Marshfield, St. Andrew's, Hanover, and Trinity, Bridgewater, appear in L. S. Richards, *History of Marshfield* (Plymouth, 1901), I, 95; Marshfield Tercentenary Committee, *Marshfield . . . 1640–1940* (Marshfield, Mass., 1940), p. 107; Samuel Cutler, Rector, *Sermon . . .* [of] *November 8, 1846* (Boston, 1848), *passim*; John S. Barry, *An Historical Sketch of . . . Hanover* (Boston, 1853), p. 79; Nahum Mitchell, *History of . . . Bridgewater . . .* (Boston, 1840), pp. 51, 152; *JED*, 1842, p. 13. Mr. Cutler of St. Andrew's was occasionally 'ministering to the little flock in Marshfield'. *JED*, 1842, p. 13. He was not of the Benjamin Clarke Cutler family.

76. The Rev. N. T. Bent, Rector, *A Discourse Historical of St. Thomas' Church, Taunton . . . Easter-Day, 1844* (Taunton, Mass., 1844), p. 21. The rector made the following comment about the Episcopal Church in New England: 'It is true that the Protestant Episcopal Church was completely organized in the United States soon after the declaration of peace. . . . But most of her old parishes, especially in the country towns, were slow to feel her progress. There, changes are slower and prejudices more stereotyped to this day. New England has not a few among her worthy sons, whom it is hard to convince, that a Churchman is not a monarchist—a Bishop a would-be Pope, and the whole Episcopal Church a secret worker for foreign domination.' *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

77. *JED*, 1842, p. 14.

78. *JM*, 1837, pp. 31–33; [J. F. Kelley and Adam Mackie,] *History of the Churches of New Bedford, etc.* (New Bedford, 1869 [1854]), pp. 8, 109. Both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Episcopal societies changed their original names, which were St. Jean Baptist and Christ Church. A. S. Phillips, *The Phillips History of Fall River* (Fall River, Mass., 1945), II, 30.

any Episcopal societies were introduced there. Unlike Lowell, and Pawtucket in Rhode Island, no one religious society received encouragement from the mill operators or from the proprietors of firms in the whaling industry.[79] New Bedford's commerce relied upon peaceful intercourse among nations for its successful working, and a threat of war in 1837 slowed down the prosperity of the town temporarily, and threatened Grace parish with hard times. The near conjunction of unusual water power with a seaport was to lead to the eventual establishment of half a dozen Episcopal societies in Fall River.[80]

Barnstable and Dukes Counties had no Episcopal societies in 1843. The one parish in Nantucket County, Trinity, presented twenty-two candidates for confirmation by Bishop Griswold in his final visitation to this southern outpost of the Massachusetts diocese. He reported that a debt 'still lies heavily upon them'. Further 'change and derangement in the chancel, desk, etc.', he called 'superstitious fooleries of the dark ages of the church'.[81] This condemnation of Trinity's and its rector's slant toward ritualism was Bishop Griswold's bequest to his successor, Manton Eastburn.

On the basis of this final survey of Bishop Griswold's of the Diocese of Massachusetts, and the facts which underlay it, although small in membership, the Church in Massachusetts was organized on a strong and permanent foundation. The numerical position of

79. In 1846 Fall River had twelve churches, while New Bedford had seventeen. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, p. 149, 213. In Pawtucket, Samuel Slater and David Wilkinson were the 'Principal Patrons' of St. Paul's Church and parish at its organization in 1816. Rev. Edward H. Randall, *A Discourse* [*on*] *the Fiftieth Anniversary of . . . St. Paul's Church, Pawtucket, R. I.* (Pawtucket, 1868), p. 8. See also *JRI*, 1835, p. 33.

80. Hayward, *Gazetteer*, pp. 147 ff., 211 ff.; *JM*, 1837, p. 23; *Living Church Annual, 1951*, pp. 201–202. The 'Fall River Quadrangle' (1950) of the U. S. Geological Survey shows a fall of over 130 feet in the half mile long Quequechan, or Fall, River, which is the outlet to the Taunton River and Mount Hope Bay of the Stafford and Watuppa (spring-fed) Ponds system.

81. *JED*, 1842, pp. 12–13. The number of Trinity's communicants was 84. The number of communicants east of Worcester County was 3461, or one out of 145.5 persons. The total number of communicants reported in the diocese was 4118, or one in 179. *JM*, 1843, p. 94. The national ratio in 1840 was one in 307.69. *Living Church Annual, 1951*, p. 26. There were 47 parishes.

the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts as reported by number of communicants to General Convention of 1844 was sixth. In the national census of 1840 Massachusetts ranked eighth in population.[82]

82. *JGC*, 1844, p. 212; *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920* (Washington, Government Printing Office, n.d.), I, 20–21. Connecticut ranked third in number of Church members, but twentieth in population.

CHAPTER XI

MANTON EASTBURN, already elected rector of Trinity parish on 9 October 1842, was consecrated the fourth bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts in Trinity Church, Boston, 29 December 1842.[1] Bishop Lawrence has written that Eastburn regarded the Oxford Movement as inspired by Rome; and that in regard to the Tractarians, he believed that 'even force must be brought to bear to silence these advocates of the Dark Ages and followers of the Scarlet Woman'.[2] In short, Eastburn 'had brought with him from England a hostility to anything that smacked of ritualism, High Churchism, or Puseyism'.[3] In the matter of ritualism, like his 'revered predecessor in office', Eastburn, after two visitations to Trinity, Nantucket, reported to the diocese his grief that 'certain peculiarities practiced by the Rector . . . [and] objectionable singularities are still continued'.[4] When Manton Eastburn succeeded Bishop Griswold, however, aside from the common, though minor, problem of the Nantucket incident, a different sort of difficulty claimed the new bishop's attention.

The very existence of the Church in Massachusetts concerned Bishop Griswold during his earlier years as diocesan. Yet now Bishop Eastburn could not feel any uneasiness that his new parish of

1. Eastburn, born in Leeds, England, 9 Feb. 1801, came to the United States with his father; he graduated from Columbia in 1817, and from General Theological Seminary in 1821. He was ordained deacon by Hobart in 1822 and ordained priest by him in 1825. Bishop Griswold and the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, in Sept. 1822, tried unsuccessfully to get Eastburn 'to take charge of the parish [Christ Church] in Cambridge, Mass.'. Eastburn was rector of the Church of the Ascension, New York City, when elected Bishop of Massachusetts. Eastburn MSS material, unsigned typed notes, at library of General Theological Seminary; John Seely Stone, *Memoir of Alexander Viets Griswold* (Philadelphia, 1844), p. 280.

2. *Trinity Church, in the City of Boston, 1733–1933* (Boston, 1933), p. 55.

3. *Trinity Church*, p. 61.

4. *JM*, 1844, p. 22.

Trinity Church would 'adopt the Reformed Liturgy of Stone Chapel', as seemed likely only twelve years before.[5] The Unitarian threat, which alarmed Griswold, was subsiding. By mid-nineteenth century, Bishop Eastburn observed that the Church, which 'has had to contend for every step of its way in New England against suspicion and hostility,—has now obtained a name and a place'.[6] That the name and place of the Episcopal Church were free from danger was not true in the judgment of some of the clergy, however.

In the springing up of many sects, especially in New England and New York State, 'a terrible power' threatened the Episcopal Church under the generic name of 'fanaticism', but more specifically 'Mormonism, Millerism, Perfectionism, and a hundred other *isms* which prevail[ed] on every side'.[7] By the very confusion which the number of competing sects created in the ideas of persons who investigated their creeds and tenets, 'some minds [turned] to formalism and Rome; while others, roused by fear of mental or spiritual bondage . . . become either fanatics, obeying the supposed witness of the Spirit within, or rationalists, taking for their only guide the dictates of their own reason'.[8] Although the rector-elect of Grace Church, Boston, the Rev. Charles Mason, told the alumni and students of General Seminary, 'that the Theologian is loudly called upon to be prepared for the *danger of Romanism*', this same pronouncement characterized the thinking of Bishop Eastburn.[9] To Eastburn the attractiveness of new religious sects did not threaten the Church, but Romanism did. Specifically this view of the Church meant that the bishop felt it to be his duty to define the doctrines and practices of the Church in his Diocese of Massachusetts, and then to defend and preserve them. He readily inherited from his 'revered predecessor in office' the dislike of 'certain peculiarities practised by the Rector . . . in conducting the service',

5. Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), I, 361, a letter of Emerson to his brother, William, of 14 Dec. 1832.

6. Rt. Rev. Manton Eastburn, D.D., *A Sermon Delivered on . . . June 22, 1851 . . .* [on the] *150th Anniversary of the Venerable Society . . .* (Boston, 1851), p. 19.

7. Rev. Charles Mason, *A Sermon Before the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary . . . June ,1847* (New York, 1847), p. 15.

8. Mason, *Sermon*, pp. 14–15.

9. Mason, *Sermon*; *JM*, 1844, pp. 31–35.

at Trinity, Nantucket. Bishop Eastburn, having confirmed thirty-three candidates there within nine months, was yet 'grieved to state' that nothing had induced the standing committee or the parish itself to amend its rector's ways.[10]

To Eastburn and Mason, this period, common to all New England and New York, of 'fluctuation of religious opinion . . . [of] the dissolution of old, and the formation of new sects; [of] the rapid decline in a prevailing denomination, from a rigid system of doctrine and discipline, to the verge of infidelity, and the utter disregard of all unity of faith and order'[11]—this period offered to the Church her opportunity to set forth her strong points. These strong points of the Church as stated by the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner a generation earlier were, 'the discipline and doctrine of the Church . . . which has obtained the truly golden mean of piety without cant, of orthodoxy without austerity, of liberality without latitudinarianism—'.[12] The Church in the light of a *via media* revealed its greatest strength, and its appeal to converts from other branches of the Christian faith worked largely by means of this aspect. To the non-Churchman, then, the theology of the Church provided the golden mean of religion between the dangerous, radical, newly-formed sects, and the threatening, chronically enduring lure of Romanism.[13] Were a non-Churchman to join a religious society on the basis of the wealth, education, family standing, or service to the community of its members, he would have found that the Episcopal Church shared an equal place with the Orthodox or Congregational, and Unitarian Churches, save in the fewness of Episcopal Church members.[14] To enlarge the membership in the Episcopal

10. *JM*, 1844, pp. 14, 22.

11. 'Annual Report of Board of Missions, by the Rev. Charles Mason', *JM*, 1842, p. 19.

12. J. S. J. Gardiner, A.M., Rector, *A Sermon Preached . . . Before the Trustees of . . . Donations, and the Episcopal Convention of . . . Massachusetts, May 25, 1813* (Boston, 1813), p. 29.

13. Of the 'ism' sects that Mason named —Shakerism, Millerism, Mormonism, and Perfectionism—only the Perfectionists included a group of families whose background, wealth, and education matched the social position of the Congregationalists, Unitarians, and Episcopalians. This fact was shown in the Poultney, Vermont, period of Perfectionism. See Robert A. Parker, *A Yankee Saint, John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community* (New York, 1935), pp. 64, 90.

14. A close approximation to actual figures for 'church population' in 1845 in Boston shows Romanists 30,000 (church

Church was a natural and obvious objective of the diocese, especially in the city of Boston. Boston was, of course, the strength of the diocese, as its citizens provided for Bishop Griswold the chief means by which he was 'able to travel through this Diocese, and to visit our Churches'.[15] Yet, with the great increase of wealth and population which occurred during Griswold's episcopate, virtually but two Episcopal societies had been formed in the city proper.[16] Again, Boston represented a weak area in the diocese, as its Episcopal societies had neglected for too long 'the poorer classes of the community in their provisions for public worship'.[17] It is a truism today, recognized equally by all religious societies, that the most important field for missionary effort lies in that always sizable group of persons which is allied with no religious body. In the early 1840's this fact was true also. In Boston there were 'many thousands of men, women, and children, who seldom, if ever, enter[ed] a church of God, and who never . . . [would], until sought out by the Christian missionary'.[18] To the diocesan Board of Missions in 1842, the issue seemed clear. Said its secretary, Mason, 'Too long have the poorer classes of the community been neglected in her [i.e., the Church's] provisions for public worship. . . . The Church should be opened wide, the gospel preached freely to the poor.'[19] Mason did not advocate 'opening' Trinity, or St. Paul's, or Grace Churches to the poor. Bishop Eastburn likewise could not have urged the giving up of pew-rates, one of the main sources of parochial income. Rather was 'opening wide the Church' the support of

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membership not stated, but all baptized Romanists are members of the Church), Unitarians 18,000 (ch. mem. 2810), Orthodox 14,500 (ch. mem. 4830), Episcopalians 6000 (ch. mem. 1631). Lemuel Shattuck, *Census of Boston for the year 1845* (Boston, 1846), p. 125.

15. *JED*, 1827, p. 4. Griswold refers here to the Eastern Diocese.

16. The Third Census (1810) listed Boston's population at 33,787. In 1845 the city census gave 114,366. Shattuck, *Census of Boston*, p. 26. Grace and St. Paul's parishes were outstanding societies. The other Boston Episcopal society, St. Matthew's, South Boston, was actually remote from Boston proper, and relatively unimportant in the Diocese of Massachusetts. Under its rector, Joseph H. Clinch, St. Matthew's congregation 'chiefly composed of the manufacturing and laboring classes . . . defray[ed] the expenses of the parish, without pecuniary assistance from other sources'. *JM*, 1840, p. 22; 1841, p. 28; 1842, p. 30; 1843, p. 58; *JED*, 1827, p. 4.

17. *JM*, 1842, p. 19.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

missions and ministers for it in sections of the community which lacked religious societies.[20] When Eastburn became the diocesan, then, in 1843, the laymen of the diocese had a clear enough concept of what were the general needs and problems of the Church in Massachusetts.

Bishop Eastburn's first episcopal address to the diocese, 14 June 1843, contained four 'topics, more or less connected with the prosperity of our Church', given in the order of their importance: missions, theological education, church buildings, church music.[21] Underlying these four topics, broadly interpreted, were the important grounds of meeting and of divergence of bishop and members of his diocese.

Eastburn defined missions by stating their purpose, which was to impart 'to a dying world the knowledge of Christ and Him crucified . . . [both] to them . . . far off, and to them . . . nigh'.[22] To accomplish this goal, he urged that missions be financed by 'that stream of steady and systematized charity, which is the only scriptural method of supply'.[23] Bishop Eastburn did not comprehend that 'sudden and spasmodic efforts' in raising money (which he did not favor) often aroused the imagination of, and dramatized the appeal to, possible benefactors.[24]

On the ground of theological education, Bishop Eastburn exhorted the diocesan trustees of General Theological Seminary to round out their numbers at the annual board meeting. As an alumnus of that school, the bishop felt that because of the school's location and its 'course of instruction' it had and could, under the

20. St. Matthew's Church, South Boston, founded in 1816, represented a part self-supporting, part missionary society sponsored originally by Christ Church and Trinity. Thomas C. Simonds, *History of South Boston* (Boston, 1857), pp. 158–160. The Romanist society of St. Augustine's, South Boston, started in 1819; by the 'activity and assistance' of Bishop Cheverus a church was built, and consecrated in 1833 by Bishop Fenwick. Simonds, *South Boston*, pp. 161–162.

21. *JM*, 1843, pp. 31–35.

22. *JM*, 1843, p. 31.

23. *JM*, 1843, p. 30. As rector of Grace Church, Thomas M. Clark had begun both weekly and monthly pledges in 1838. *JM*, 1838, p. 19; 1839, p. 25. Tithing was not in the spirit of the Episcopal Church in the sense that it was and is in the Methodist Church or the Church of the Latter Day Saints.

24. *JM*, 1843, p. 30.

watchful eyes of its trustees, provide the best education for the ministry in the Church.[25] That Eastburn had found Boston somewhat cold to the Episcopal Church appeared from his reference to New York as 'a city which is the centre of information, [and] affords the students great facilities for acquiring an extensive knowledge of our Church, and of its affairs'.[26] Putting his defense against Romanism in more and better education, Eastburn cited the need at the college level also, for 'a more general diffusion of sound scholarship among the ranks of the [future] Clergy'.[27]

The bishop's third point took up the subject of church buildings. He offered to the annual convention a plan to standardize the erection of churches by supervision of the convention or its delegates, and to receive money for this purpose which would be given more freely, as the givers might rely on the 'judicious expenditure' of any sums received.[28] The few Episcopal churches built in the Congregational, traditionally New England meetinghouse style under Bishop Griswold, all of wood, did not strike a favorable note in Bishop Eastburn's mind. Individualist that he was, he favored what was an Upjohn Gothic style of church architecture, restricted by his own modifications, revealed in stone and wood in the Church of the Ascension, New York City.[29] Eastburn apparently favored

25. During the annual convention of 1844, the election of the Rev. Clement M. Butler to fill a vacancy brought the number of trustees of General Theological Seminary from the diocese to eight, six clergy and two laymen. *JM*, 1844, pp. 59–60. In 1843–44, the faculty of General Theological Seminary were undergoing a period of questioning following a wave of anti-Romanism among a majority of the House of Bishops. The attempt to block the ordination (1843) of Arthur Carey, a General Theological Seminary student, furthered the intolerance of the Rome-fearing faction. The Carey case, said Perry, 'shook the American Church from its center to its circumference'. The discussion touched the Diocese of Massachusetts largely by way of Bishop Eastburn. *JM*, 1844, pp. 59–60; W. S. Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1857–1883* (Boston, 1885, 2 vols.), II, 269–270; E. Clowes Chorley, *Men and Movements of the Episcopal Church* (New York, 1948), 209 ff.; *JGC*, 1844, pp. 230–250; *JM*, 1843, pp. 32–33.

26. *JM*, 1843, p. 32.

27. *JM*, 1843, p. 33.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Richard Upjohn, the architect of Trinity in New York, also drew the plans for the present Church of the Ascension, about 1840. Fearing 'the winning ways of Richard Upjohn . . . and strongly convinced of the virtues of Low Church principles, the rector [Manton Eastburn] himself purchased the land immediately behind the church in order to foil any attempt to introduce a deep chancel like that at Trinity'. Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman* (New York, 1939), p. 69.

a pseudo-Gothic architecture externally, and a nearly rectangular or meetinghouse design for the interior. With his urban background, Eastburn favored stone or brick materials. The latter materials of course, were far more durable. Upjohn's interpretation of Gothic found no expression in Boston, even though he drew the plans for St. John's Episcopal Church at Bangor, Maine. While Upjohn had his office in Boston, he had become a friend of Trinity's rector, the Rev. Jonathan M. Wainwright. Upjohn did minor and relatively insignificant work commissioned by Wainwright for a pulpit, but not until the latter had been elected provisional bishop of New York did Upjohn get the call for drawings for a new Trinity. Then he left Boston permanently in 1839. Eastburn gave his own touch to the plan for the Church of the Ascension in New York, which Upjohn otherwise would have drawn along the accented sanctuary design of its sister church, Trinity.[30] The subject of church architecture has always been more of a theological and doctrinal problem than a problem in aesthetics or in engineering. Also, it has been a strictly parochial problem.

Bishop Eastburn's final point took up church music. Trinity's choir, along with several other church choirs, was known as outstanding at least in music circles.[31] The organist at Trinity when Eastburn became rector was A. U. Hayter. At Eastburn's suggestion Hayter compiled a little book of 'appropriate psalm and hymn tunes, and of chants'.[32] To turn the sung *Te Deum*, for example, away from a concert form toward a simpler rendering in chanting, was Bishop Eastburn's purpose.[33] In music the bishop found that

30. Upjohn, *Upjohn*, pp. 35, 43, 47.

31. H. Earle Johnson, *Musical Interludes in Boston, 1795–1830* (New York, 1943), pp. 18–19.

32. Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, VI, 18. *JM*, 1832, p. 35.

33. The music of the Episcopal Church, says one authority, 'has usually followed English practice, at the natural interval of some years'. Lowell Mason, who spent many years in Boston, though 'not a churchman', influenced the Rev. George T. Rider, of Canandaigua, N. Y., who in turn compiled, in 1854, 'the first manual making "full provision for the music of our Liturgy, in a form that congregations can easily use." ' Trinity had its own hymnal in 1808, but only the publication of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* in England in 1860 and the 'quietly pervasive force for all that was highest in Hymnody', F. D. Huntington, led to the present high level of church music. Between the hymns approved by a general convention and the Church *Hymnal* of 1872, Bishop Eastburn was at the least deeply interested in the music of the

Boston was in the van of New York, with Hayter, organist of the Handel and Haydn Society, also organist at Trinity. Music was a chronic problem at St. Paul's, Boston, also. In the annually increasing amounts of money spent on music, the outright competitive aspect of Episcopal Churches with one another and with other sects showed itself.[34] Although Bishop Eastburn's interest in music attempted to raise the level of selection and performance for the whole diocese, as rector of Trinity, Boston, he could have a direct influence only in his own parish.

Having appraised the needs of the diocese, and having indicated what he considered its immediate problems, Bishop Eastburn settled down in Boston into what appears to have been a somewhat lonely life. As rector of Trinity and bishop of the diocese, he had to rely on assistants. The Greene fund for an assistant minister at Trinity maintained an additional cleric in that parish, which released the rector-bishop for diocesan acts, which he could not delegate to an assistant.[35] Eastburn's first residence in Boston was at Pemberton Square. Here the then assistant bishop lived with his mother, wife, and sister.[36] Across the Square from the assistant bishop's house lived Amos Adams Lawrence, who on 31 March

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Church. Winfred Douglas, Mus. Doc., *Church Music in History and Practice* (New York, 1940 [1937]), pp. 260, 262–263; *JGC*, 1829, II, 191.

34. 'St. Paul's Vestry Records', Bk. I and II, *passim*; for the music budget in 1866–67, see Bk. II, p. 260. In 1834 E. A. Newton of St. Stephen's, Pittsfield, wrote Bishop Griswold asking him if oratorios were 'a proper entertainment for Christian people?' Griswold answered that as 'amusement' oratorios were '*im*proper'. As a form of worship, sung in church to raise money for the poor, the bishop would 'certainly regret' having them performed in his parish church, but he did admit the expediency of having such music '*for a charitable purpose*'. Stone, *Griswold*, pp. 393–396.

35. The assistant minister at Trinity when Eastburn became its rector was John L. Watson. Watson had ministered in Trinity since 1836, and was the only priest in charge from 1838 till Eastburn's induction. He served on the standing committee of the diocese from 1838 to 1842, and under him, Trinity's condition was reported as thriving. *JM*, year cited; also *JED*. Eastburn did not get along with Watson, who in 1846 'thought it expedient to resign'. *Trinity Church*, p. 57. T. M. Clark, former rector of Grace Church, Boston, succeeded Watson, 1847–50. Clark referred to his years at Trinity as a position of 'mossy quietude'. George K. Clarke, *Descendants of Nathaniel Clarke, etc.* (Boston, 1902), p. 108.

36. 'Diary of Amos A. Lawrence, 1842–1858', pp. 1, 29, Dec. 1842. Mr. Lawrence wrote of the bishop's wife, 'We have seen but little of his wife, 'tho she has been here these 3 weeks; she is an invalid.'

1842 had married Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of William Appleton. When Mr. Appleton was visiting his daughter and son-in-law early on the morning of 15 February 1843, Sarah saw Bishop Griswold fall on the sidewalk as he was about to call on his new assistant. Bishop Griswold died a few minutes later almost in the arms of Bishop Eastburn, Amos A. Lawrence, and William Appleton.[37] With the addition of William Richards Lawrence, the only brother of Amos A. Lawrence, and of the Reverend Charles Mason, who in 1838 had married Susan (Susanna) Lawrence, sister of William R. and Amos A. Lawrence, these four men sustained and guided the diocese under Bishop Eastburn. Two other Boston families had an equally important part in the history of the diocese during Eastburn's episcopate: the families of Richard Henry Dana (1815–82) and of George Cheyne Shattuck (1813–93).

William Appleton had been one of the four diocesan delegates 'to invite Dr. Eastburn to become Bishop'.[38] Only at this time (1842) did Appleton devote so much of his thought to religion as finally to resolve 'to be a whole Christian'. Appleton had been closely associated with the early years of St. Paul's Church and had been on intimate terms with its rectors.[39] To join the Church by the rite of confirmation, however, appeared to him as a public profession of faith or a reversion to the religion of his forebears. Having moved away from a rural or small-town existence, and entering business in Boston, men such as William Appleton naturally hesitated before making an avowal of their faith before the eyes of the world or even before their own parish. Again, the doctrine of the

37. *Selections from the Diaries of William Appleton, 1786–1862* (Boston, 1922), pp. 100–101; William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence, With Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 234.

38. Appleton, *Diaries*, 3 Oct. 1842, p. 97. William Appleton's business career, like that of his fellow churchman, E. A. Newton, followed that 'of many of the merchants of this city [Boston] who have risen to distinguished eminence and usefulness. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, v (Mar. 1862), 460. Appleton had made his fortune by 1825, and spent the rest of his life as an invalid, although with periods of activity in business. Robert Means Lawrence, M.D., *The Descendants of Major Samuel Lawrence* (Cambridge, 1904), pp. 120–121.

39. 'St. Paul's Vestry Records', I, 1, 15; [Samuel F. Jarvis,] *A Narrative of Events, etc.* (n.p., n.d.), p. 62; Appleton, *Diaries*, *passim*.

Church as a group of the elect, the Saints, persisted in the thinking of prominent Episcopalians in the diocese. Financially successful as they were, E. A. Newton, William Appleton, Amos A. Lawrence felt spiritually unworthy to receive Holy Communion.[40] The contribution that Bishop Griswold, and Potter, Stone, and Vinton, successive rectors of St. Paul's, Boston, made to the history of the diocese was to inspire these laymen with the conception of the Church as a group or society of unworthy men meeting together to seek the one means of redemption, available to all through God's freely bestowed grace to mankind.[41] Compared to the preaching and theology heard at Trinity, there were overtones of revivalism in the sermons given at St. Paul's. The Book of Common Prayer and hymns approved by the Church kept the Sunday services strictly to form[42] at St. Paul's, but that the sermons had an emotional as well as an intellectual and spiritual appeal showed in the attention which some of the hearers gave to them. The St. Paul's sermons would have disturbed the 'mossy quietude' of Trinity.

Important as the influence of the spoken word of the clergy was, the history of the diocese was more certainly affected by those basic, though unassayable bonds of marriage, family, and friendship among Church members. That his wife, Mary Anne Cutler, 'was a communicant in the Episcopal Church', prior to their marriage in 1815 may have directed William Appleton toward the Church.[43] What decided him on the public profession of faith, the

40. Newton joined the Church in 1832, aged 47 years; Appleton in 1838, aged 51 years; A. A. Lawrence in 1842, aged 27. Kate M. Schutt, *The First Century of St. Stephen's Parish, 1830–1930* (Pittsfield, 1930), p. 30; Appleton, *Diaries*, pp. 63, 93. A New York churchman, a contemporary of Newton and Appleton, Cooper joined the Church only ten weeks before his death in 1851. James Grossman, *James Fenimore Cooper* ([New York,] 1949), p. 255.

41. Appleton, *Diaries*, 1, 49, 52; A. A. Lawrence, 'Diary, 1836–1839', entries for 2 Jan., 7 July 1839. Bishop Lawrence said of his father, A. A. Lawrence, that his 'devotional spirit had sent him to the Prayer Book, which led him into closer sympathy with the Episcopal Church'. Lawrence, *Lawrence*, p. 55.

42. Revivalism is used here in the sense of a stirring up of, or a renewed interest in, religion, not in the 'frontier' sense.

43. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 223. Mary Anne Cutler was the daughter of James Cutler and Mehitable Sullivan, and a granddaughter of Gov. James Sullivan. Thomas C. Amory, collector, *Materials for a History of the Family of Sullivan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1893), pp. 152–153.

rite of confirmation, was his wish to be 'an example to my children . . .'.[44] With his second son, 'my dear Amory', Appleton received the laying on of hands by Bishop Griswold on 8 April 1838. His love for his children was inseparable from his desire that they, unlike himself a self-styled 'half-Christian', should be 'whole' Christians.[45] Appleton's concern with the spiritual welfare of his children was matched, naturally enough, with an anxiety for their material well-being. His success in business resulted ultimately in an attempt to provide security for his children and their families. Yet, provision for material comfort brought in its train his abiding solicitude for his and his family's realization of their dependence upon the Church as the only bond of family unity and coherence.[46] As No. 54 Beacon Street was the center of the Appleton family's life in things material, so St. Paul's Church, across Boston Common, was the focus of its existence in things spiritual. Here Appleton had been present at the burial in his family tomb beneath the church, of his mother, six of his children, and even some of his grandchildren.[47] His house on Beacon Street was another home for the successive rectors of St. Paul's from the Rev. S. F. Jarvis to William R. Nicholson.[48] The Rev. A. H. Vinton and Bishop Alonzo Potter became Appleton's closest friends.

44. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 63. Appleton also considered it a public profession of faith to join 'in partaking of the Holy Communion'. The 'public' aspect troubled him less than 'having my mind, as it is, so much engrossed in the pursuit of the things of this world'. *Diaries*, p. 52.

45. Entries in the diaries supporting this point read: 'I went this day [8 Apr. 1838] with my dear Amory and was confirmed . . . this I did in part as an example to my children.' 'At church with all the children [1841].' Easter, 1842: 'Our dear Mary Ann went for the first time to the Communion; I felt it very much. . . .' 'I believe, Help, Lord, my unbelief.' Christmas, 1843: 'We had the great satisfaction of going to the Communion table this day with two of our sons and two daughters; our eldest son Frank for the first time. The place our dear Amory filled [he had died 29 June 1843, and his funeral held at St. Paul's] is vacant in my heart; I loved him much. . . .' *Diaries*, pp. 83, 91, 107.

46. Looking back over the past year, on 31 Dec. 1838, Appleton wrote: 'When I look about me and see the wonderful kindness of the Supreme Being to me in giving us such amiable children, endowed with a full share of health [and] reason, together with this world's goods [more than $600,000] far above what fall to the lot of most men, I pause.' *Diaries*, p. 64. Appleton survived his wife and six of their ten children, only one of whom died in infancy. Appleton, *Appleton Family*, pp. 45–46, 63; *Diaries*, p. 196.

47. *Diaries*, pp. 96, 162, 196.

48. Appleton wrote under date of 3 Mar. 1859, 'Meeting Proprietors St. Paul's

Potter, who had twice been the first choice for Bishop of Massachusetts, but had preferred to remain a Professor at Union College, had agreed to give a series of Lowell lectures in Boston in 1844–45.[49] He had also visited at Appleton's home after he left Boston in 1831, he named a son born in 1842 William Appleton Potter, and the two friends wrote many letters to each other.[50] Potter's course of lectures on 'Natural History' in the winter of 1844–45 was listened to by some 3000 persons, while over 1700 were not fortunate enough to draw tickets. Boston audiences and lecture enthusiasts, in mid-nineteenth century, however, preferred to hear more about science and art than religion. The lectures by Asa Gray on botany drew 5500 during the same season that Potter gave his courses.[51]

Following Potter at St. Paul's had been John Seely Stone under whose rectorship Appleton had first received the Holy Communion and had been confirmed. Then in 1842 Alexander Hamilton Vinton had been called to St. Paul's from Providence, where he

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Church; authorized by a vote 43–2 to invite Dr. Nicholson to become our Rector.' As a follow-up to this meeting, he records under 13 May 1859, 'Dr. and Mrs. Nicholson came to stop with us; some thirty or forty persons to meet them in the evening. 15th. Two sermons from Dr. N.; very well received but long,—45 and 50 mins. 17th. Our friends left us . . . I fancy he will become Rector of St. Paul's, I hope he will; there will be opposition, but he is a Man of talents and discretion and will soon overcome it, I trust and doubt not if he shortens his Sermons.' *Diaries*, p. 216. Nicholson was rector of St. Paul's from 1859 to 1872.

49. Potter gave in all five courses of Lowell lectures between 1844 and 1853, amounting to sixty lectures. The trustees of the Lowell Institute, established in 1839–40, 'were very properly solicitous . . . to secure the services of men who would give substantial instruction to the people and win honor to the Institute by their national reputation'. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *Memoirs . . . of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1871), p. 120; Harriette Knight Smith, *The History of the Lowell Institute* (Boston, etc., 1898), pp. 52–54. Howe points out that Potter, though a priest for twenty years, had only had a parish for five years, St. Paul's, Boston. He was by reputation and name Professor Potter. With his consecration to the Diocese of Pennsylvania 23 Sept. 1845 he turned from his scholastic career to a clerical course, and henceforth was Bishop Potter in name and deed. That he gave the Lowell lectures was due to their financial return and to the friendships he had made in Boston. Howe, *Potter*, pp. 123–126.

50. Potter's letters to Appleton outnumber all other Potter letters extant. Howe, *Potter*, p. 91.

51. In the 1844–45 season, Arthur Gilman, designer of several Episcopal churches, lectured on architecture; Henry D. Rogers on geology; Asa Gray on botany; and Potter on natural religion. The first three each gave their lectures twice to a total audience of 16,500. Shattuck, *Census of Boston*, p. 75.

was rector of Grace Church.[52] Beginning in 1842, Vinton served as St. Paul's rector until the fall of 1858.[53] Like his predecessors Potter and Stone, Vinton was a convert to the Episcopal Church. Bishop Clark, who knew him well, wrote that Vinton's conversion followed from his observation of a patient, a young woman, whom he had treated during the brief term in which he had practiced medicine. That his patient's 'Christian faith . . . [was] able to inspire such a sufferer . . . with so much quietness and peace', led him to 'the reading of Butler's Analogy, and this determined the whole tenor of his life; he gave up his practice as a physician, and entered upon his great career as a minister of Christ'.[54] Bishop Griswold instituted Vinton into the office of rector on 11 May 1842.[55] Vinton had come to Boston some time before this and already was acquainted with the Appleton and Lawrence families. On the thirty-first of March 1842, at Appleton's house on Beacon Street, the rector-elect of St. Paul's performed the marriage ceremony, 'in a very acceptable manner', of Sarah Elizabeth, second daughter of William Appleton, and Amos Adams Lawrence, son of Amos Lawrence.[56] This union of Appletons and Lawrences was not without consequence in diocesan affairs. The Lawrence family had already taken a step toward the Episcopal Church, when Susanna, younger sister of Amos A. Lawrence, married, in 1838, the Rev. Charles Mason, rector of St. Peter's, Salem, and son of Jeremiah Mason, formerly of Portsmouth, but more recently of Boston.[57]

52. Dr. John Collins Warren, acting for the proprietors of St. Paul's, wrote to Vinton 1 Nov. 1841. Vinton answered on the 6th, asking 'for a few weeks delay—when I will give a formal answer'. 'Warren Papers' (Massachusetts Historical Society), 1841–June 1844, Vol. 20.

53. John Adams Vinton, *The Vinton Memorial, Comprising a Genealogy of the Descendants of John Vinton of Lynn, etc.* (Boston, 1858), pp. 206, 285–287; Thomas M. Clark, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1895), pp. 94–97.

54. Clark, *Reminiscences*, pp. 96–97.

55. *JED*, 1842, pp. 14–15.

56. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 92.

57. Theodore West Mason, *Family Record . . . of Descent from Major John Mason of Norwich, Connecticut* (New York, 1909), pp. 25–27. Jeremiah Mason, father of Charles, married, in 1799, Mary Means, daughter of Col. Robert Means of Amherst, N. H. Amos Lawrence married, in 1821 (two years after his first wife died), Nancy (Means) Ellis, a widow, and a sister of Mrs. Jeremiah (Mary Means) Mason. New Hampshire Historical Society, *Collections* (Concord, 1837), v, 103–104. Lawrence, *Descendants of Major Lawrence*, p. 121.

Vinton's next service to the Church and diocese was to prepare a group for confirmation, with the result that nearly fifty candidates offered themselves to Bishop Griswold on 29 May 1842. The group included Amos A. Lawrence and his wife, Sarah Appleton; William Richards Lawrence, older brother of Amos A., and his wife Susan Coombs Dana, together with Mary Anne Appleton, William Appleton's oldest daughter, also were presented to the bishop by Vinton.[58] Vinton kept a watchful eye on at least two of his confirmation candidates, Amos A. and Sarah Lawrence, whom he had married on 31 March of that same year. The young people, who were traveling in the south and were then at Richmond, Virginia, received a letter from Vinton exhorting his 'very dear friends . . . not to be afraid of taking too exalted views of the Christian Calling or of being too short and uncompromising in christian duty'.[59] As brilliant and kindly a rector as Vinton was, his views of the Church were cast in the usual parochialism which characterized the Diocese of Massachusetts. One other fact which properly pertained to the history of the diocese, and strengthened the bonds of the Appleton-

58. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 93; Lawrence, *Lawrence*, p. 55. A. A. Lawrence only joined the Episcopal Church after much thinking about religion as represented at least by several of the Boston churches. His son, the late Bishop Lawrence (William), put the prayer book as the prime influence. His diary, however, reveals that the Orthodox (Congregational) 'views' of religion offered the best influence in the community. In the Episcopal Church he found the same 'orthodox views', with the added warmth of the presence of his brother William, of the William Appleton family, of the Rev. Charles and Robert Means Mason, and of the personality and sermons of the Rev. J. S. Stone at St. Paul's. Lawrence, *Lawrence*, p. 55; Lawrence, 'Diary, 1836–1839', entries for 2 July 1837, 10 Feb. 1838, 7 July 1839. His father, Amos Lawrence, a member of the Brattle Square Church, approved of the Episcopal Church enough to allow the marriage of his daughter, Susan, to the Rev. Charles Mason, and not to discourage William and Amos from joining the Church with their wives. William R. Lawrence was baptized 12 Oct. 1812 by the Rev. W. E. Channing in the Brattle Square Church. *Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, 1699–1872* (Boston, 1902), p. 119, 215.

59. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. IV, letter from A. H. Vinton, Boston, to A. A. Lawrence, 6 May 1842. The general attitude toward religion in this country at this time appeared from Vinton's letter in which he writes, 'I know from satisfactory experience as well as from observation that the effect of journeying is dissipating to the habits and feelings of a Christian. We are so much the creatures of circumstances, and accustomed associations have such power, that even our devotions are not apt to be so cordial and refreshing when we are not in our own closets where we have so often and so delightfully conversed with God,—or not in our own church where the truth has so often humbled or cheered or nourished us and where our souls naturally turn as to a sort of home.'

Lawrence-Mason family connections, was the 'co-partnership' in the textile selling agency and brokerage business of Amos A. Lawrence and Robert Means Mason.[60] The two partners acting together did good work for the diocese and St. Paul's, especially in the last decade of Bishop Eastburn's episcopate.

In detailing the association of a few Boston families with St. Paul's, the position of Trinity Church cannot be overlooked. Trinity shared with St. Paul's the foremost place in the diocese in the number of communicants and in the financial resources of its members. Trinity, however, had a tradition resting on its pre-Revolutionary origin, and, therefore, a stability which St. Paul's never developed.[61] The success of St. Paul's rested in great measure on the brilliance and personality of Potter, Stone, and Vinton. At Trinity from the time of J. S. J. Gardiner to 1869, when Phillips Brooks returned to Boston, there were no great rectors even including Bishop Eastburn. As one who knew Trinity from close observation, Vinton found Eastburn's failure due to a granitic quality of the minds of the parishioners. Vinton based the enduring strength and continuity of Trinity on the 'traditions that had come down through generations, hooped around with conservative bands that made them rigid, like cast iron'.[62] Some of the family names which had members on the vestry of Trinity were those of Amory, Codman, Greene, and Parker. The Rev. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity from 1779 to 1804, set an example for later generations of Trinity's parishioners, in having twelve children.[63] The Gardiner Greene

60. A. A. Lawrence, 'Diary', 1842–1858, entry for 24 May 1843.

61. There was a drift of families from St. Paul's to Emmanuel and, later, to Trinity occasioned by the resignation of Vinton in 1858, and by the development of the Back Bay area as a residential district. Charles Hook Appleton and Amory Appleton Lawrence belonged to the second generation of the Appletons and Lawrences of St. Paul's; their service on Trinity's vestry is memorialized in stained glass and marble, but their earlier religious life was at St. Paul's.

62. Alexander H. Vinton, Rector, *Memorial Discourse of Bishop Eastburn . . . December 8th, 1872* (Boston, 1873), p. 13. Vinton's reference to the granite-like minds of Trinity's members was in this same sermon, 'He [Eastburn] came to a congregation of practised and hardheaded thinkers, who yet had done their thinking on religious matters, and did not wish their thinking disturbed by dogmatic statements that traversed them throughout' (p. 14).

63. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit: Episcopalian* (New York, 1859), v, 297.

family and the Amory family included individuals whose marriages provided the parish with families of similar size.

The Amory family together with the families related to it by marriage formed a group in Trinity Church without which the parish would not have survived.[64] As merchants and traders in England, the family came to America by way of Barbadoes and the Azores. Thomas Amory, born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1682, visited Boston and Charleston, South Carolina, in 1719–20, but decided to settle permanently in Boston. His son, Thomas Amory, was the first of a line of Amory vestrymen at Trinity serving, though not continuously, from 1777 to 1910. As a group, the family was loyal to the British Crown and therefore allied to the Church of England. Like the successful English merchants of the eighteenth century, religion was a settled issue with this group of families. The generation of Amorys born after the middle of the eighteenth century were politically good citizens of the United States. The children of Thomas Amory and his younger brother John were in their turn the parents of offspring which made up a substantial part of Trinity parish.[65] More influential in the Diocese of Massachusetts, however, was the grandson of Thomas Amory, George M. Dexter, who served on the standing committee of the diocese from 1843 to 1857 and from 1865 to 1867, a period of eighteen years.[66] His services to the parish were no less outstanding.[67] He witnessed the burning of the church in Summer Street, but as a member of the building com-

64. Gertrude Euphemia Meredith, *The Descendants of Hugh Amory, 1605–1805* (London, 1901), *passim*; George Ticknor Dexter, *The Amory Family of Boston 1720–1900*, is a genealogical chart to go with the Meredith work.

65. Thomas Amory's (1722–84) children married into the Dexter, Linzee, Sullivan, and Deblois families. John Amory's (1728–1805) wife, who was Catherine Greene, daughter of Rufus Greene, a warden of Trinity for sixteen years, was a first cousin of Gardiner Greene; their children married into the Codman and Lowell families. The Lowells maintained their allegiance to the Unitarian Church. [Anon.,] *The Greene Family in England and America with Pedigrees* (Boston, 1901), p. 51; Ticknor, *Amory Family*. Many members of the Amory family belonged to the Brattle Square Church in the last part of the 18th century. *Brattle Square Church Records*, *passim*.

66. *JM*, years cited.

67. *Trinity Church*, p. 206; *Consecration Services of Trinity Church, Boston* (Boston, 1877), pp. 46, 72; *The Greene Foundation . . . of Trinity Church, Boston* (Boston, 1875), p. 44.

mittee for the new church, fortunately 'he . . . lived long enough to select the site and approve the design'.[68]

As vestrymen or wardens in the three buildings that were Trinity Church, the Codman family revealed great loyalty to the parish. Stephen Codman was vestryman from 1803 to 1814, while his nephew, Charles Russell Codman, was vestryman and senior warden from 1834 until a year before his death in 1852.[69] Charles R. Codman's father, John Codman, had become connected with the Brattle Square Church shortly after the death of his first wife in 1789.[70] Their son Charles was baptized there, when he was a week old, on 26 December 1784.[71] As an adult Charles Codman spent some time in Europe, and had not become a member of any church. At the time of his first wife's death in Paris in 1831, his brother John, minister of the Second Church in Dorchester, wrote him and urged him to make a public profession of the Christian faith in order that his children may 'look up to their surviving parent for *Christian* example'.[72] Charles Codman followed his brother's advice, became a member of Trinity parish, and shortly afterward (in 1836) married Sarah Ogden, also an Episcopalian.[73] The difficulties which the Rev. John Codman had stirred up in holding fast to an Orthodox Congregational position in his parish at Dorchester could not have drawn his brother to that branch of Christianity. Trinity's rector, the Rev. G. W. Doane, had given that society, as well as the diocese, much to talk about at the very time that Charles

68. Dexter died 26 Nov. 1872; the present church was consecrated 9 Feb. 1877. Arthur H. Chester, compiler, *Trinity Church . . . an Historical and Descriptive Account* (Cambridge, 1888), pp. 17, 58.

69. Ogden Codman, 'Genealogical Collections', at the Boston Athenaeum, p. 50.

70. Codman, 'Gen. Coll.', pp. 49–50.

71. *Brattle Square Church Records*, p. 191.

72. John Codman was minister of the Second Parish Church, Dorchester, from 1808 to his death in 1847. The bitterness among his parishioners in the first half dozen years of his ministry, and the withdrawal of a substantial number of pew-owners was typical of the diversity of religious belief and the irreconcilable position among church members. [Anon.,] *Review of Two Pamphlets . . . Published on the Subject of Ecclesiastical Controversy in Dorchester* (Boston, 1814), *passim*. *Codman Genealogy*, pp. 49–50.

73. Codman, 'Gen. Coll.', p. 67; in one of his manuscripts, 'Letter Books', Ogden Codman, Jr., writes of an Ogden ancestor of his grandmother's, Sarah (Ogden) Codman, who turned to the Episcopal Church from the Presbyterian, as the minister of the latter society had scolded him for working on the Sabbath.

R. Codman returned to Boston. By the summer of 1832, however, the parish and diocese were past the crisis. Codman found his way to Trinity Church, just as Amos A. Lawrence was to find his way to St. Paul's Church, while both their fathers, John Codman and Amos Lawrence, belonged to the Brattle Square Church.[74] Charles Russell Codman, Jr., son of Charles R. Codman, was an officer of Trinity Church from 1867 to 1917.[75]

When Bishop Eastburn became rector of Trinity Church (as well as Assistant Bishop, and later, Bishop of Massachusetts), the congregation had become a group whose members had thought out their theology, and knew the Book of Common Prayer at least in part. The leadership and preaching of the rector were of secondary importance. Yet the members of Trinity Church never overlooked the fact that the Diocese of Massachusetts existed, and that its bounds exceeded the smaller limits of the parish.[76] Trinity Church was parochial in the sense that the congregation itself determined what it did, and where it would do it, for the diocese. It did not rely on its diocesan for leadership, and in his turn, the bishop had no funds to create diocesan agencies, such as existed in the Diocese of New York. The Diocese of Massachusetts did not appeal strongly as a philanthropic interest to the generality of Episcopalians.

In the period before the Civil War, starting with the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810, and then including many and various causes such as temperance, education, abolition of slavery, the feminist movement, the emphasis of philanthropists was general and catholic in scope; they supported causes benefiting the whole community rather than a

74. *Brattle Square Church Records.*

75. Henry Codman, Charles R., and Charles R., Jr., served Trinity in 1803–14, 1834–51, 1867–1917, respectively, which would include the occupation by the church of three different buildings. *Trinity Church*, pp. 205, 206, 208.

76. This analysis of Trinity Church is based on biographical material largely in genealogies already cited, about some members of the parish; also, A. H. Vinton's *Sermon of Bishop Eastburn*, and finally, on Bishop Griswold's report to the convention of the Eastern Diocese in 1840 (p. 15), both cited above, that 'Trinity Church is still without a rector. A suitable minister in that station would strengthen our hands very much. The church is full and the parish prosperous.' John L. Watson was the minister-in-charge at Trinity, on the Greene Foundation, from 1838 to 1842. *Trinity*, p. 201.

smaller group in the community. As an example of this wide outlook, Amos Lawrence, writing to his son and daughter-in-law, Amos A. and Sarah, the day after their marriage, gave them as his advice, to start right in married life, that they join the American Bible Society.[77] An inclosure with this letter was a draft for at least $150.[78] Of more concern in starting right in married life to the young couple was securing a pew in St. Paul's Church. Within a few weeks of their confirmation, Amos A. Lawrence had his own pew, 'directly behind Mr. Appleton's 2 pews'.[79] In the next twenty years the Diocese of Massachusetts, directly and through its member parishes, received an increasing share of the donations of Episcopal churchmen, but the diocese, with a few notable exceptions, did not draw forth the support which its wealthier members gave to religious, educational, and philanthropical organizations and institutions in general. The great and stark needs of the diocese were on the obverse side of the coin; the opportunities latent in even a partial fulfillment of the needs were on the reverse side. Some individuals in the diocese there were, of course, who saw both sides of the coin, when Bishop Eastburn began his episcopacy; others responded to the claims of the diocese only in the last decade of Eastburn's years in office.

77. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. IV, no. 80, letter from A. L. to A. A. L. and S. L., 1 Apr. 1842.

78. By a payment of $150 'or upward', a layman or minister became a director for life in the society. Amos Lawrence had previously made his son William R., and his son-in-law, the Rev. Charles Mason 'life Vice Presidents', or directors for life. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', *ibid.*; *Annual Report of American Bible Society 1842*, pp. 6, 149–150.

79. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. 'U', 20 June 1842.

CHAPTER XII

MISSIONS was the keynote of Eastburn's first words to his diocese, yet before he had spoken them, William Appleton had written the bishop concerning the Boston City Mission Society. Appleton offered to give the society $10,000 'to build a place of Worship when they have procured a location'.[1] Rather than give his own parish this sum of money, Appleton noted in his diary that he believed 'the poor are more susceptible of religious impressions than those in the higher walks of life, therefore it is a good charity'. The reason that Appleton gave 'so large a sum is that without it I doubt if the object would be accomplished', and he felt that it might be 'a bond of Union among our Clergy, who most truly need it'.[2] In 1839 Christ Church, Boston, 'whose members [were] among the less affluent' of Boston Churchmen, contributed $1000 for a City Mission chapel, but no action followed.[3] The idea of building a *free* church, by gifts of money, which carried with it no 'sittings' or proprietorships in pews, was an unfamiliar concept. The plan of a free church arose from the lack of any church 'at the south part of the city'. There were here, in 1837, some 300 adults and about 100 children who 'demanded . . . the benefits of a *free* Church', and Sunday school. The need was met by free provision of a hall, furnished with seats, prayer books, the use of an organ, 'and the services of an excellent organist gratuitously rendered'.[4] Of this group of 300 adults, one-third were Episcopalians 'from education, early influence, choice or other cause, and in about equal numbers American, English, and Irish'.[5] This group called itself the 'Free Church

1. *Selections from the Diaries of William Appleton, 1786–1862* (Boston, 1922), 10 May 1843, pp. 101–102.
2. Appleton, *Diaries*, pp. 101–102.
3. *JM*, 1839, pp. 26–27.
4. *JM*, 1837, pp. 16–17.
5. *Ibid.*

of Boston', and the Rev. Samuel McBurney had charge over it. The Free Church had an independent existence of only five months. The Boston Episcopal City Mission took over in July 1837, and its minister was appointed a missionary of that society. William Appleton's gift of $10,000 finally built St. Stephen's Chapel on Purchase Street, which Bishop Eastburn consecrated on 5 October 1846.[6]

The difficulties which the Diocese of Massachusetts encountered in Boston were met and dealt with in the same manner, but without the large financial gifts, as in the case of St. Stephen's Chapel. The Church of the Messiah, organized in September 1843 to meet 'an actual demand for an Episcopal Church in the [again] southern section of the city', had its own church building seating 700, on Florence Street. Its first rector was the Rev. George M. Randall, later Bishop of Colorado. Another parish, also in the ever-extending south part of Boston, was St. Mark's. Unlike St. Stephen's Chapel and the Church of the Messiah, St. Mark's sprang from a meeting on 4 April 1851, of 'several gentlemen [who] met at the house of Charles H. Parker, Esq., to organize a new parish . . . within the bounds of Ward 11 . . .'.[7] This group of men had ascertained that the inhabitants of Ward 11 numbered some '10,480 souls . . . [of] essentially Protestant character'.[8] The trustees of the Greene Foundation of Trinity Church purchased the property of St. Mark's Church in 1871. The Rev. C. C. Tiffany, assistant minister at Trinity, took charge of the congregation which held services in the church building on Newton Street. When Tiffany began his ministry, the pew-rentals furnished the Church with some $5000 a year. Yet within a little more than a decade, services were discontinued.[9] Reporting what was happening to the part of Boston situated south of Tremont Street, the rector of St. Mark's, the Rev. Leonidas B. Baldwin, said,

6. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 121; *JM*, 1847, pp. 11, 65–66. In his diocesan address of 1847, Bishop Eastburn noted that William Appleton had given a fund of $10,000, and 'the late Edward Tuckerman, Esq., of St. Paul's Church', had given $5000, the interest on both sums to be used for maintaining a minister at the chapel. *JM*, 1847, p. 12.

7. *JM*, 1852, p. 57.

8. *JM*, 1852, p. 58.

9. *JM*, 1872, pp. 65–66.

The evils which come from the instability of church connection are seriously felt in this parish. A community once stable and substantial is now largely supplanted by the transient population of a great boarding-house quarter. This social change at the South End, while it has not diminished, but rather increased, the necessity and burden of Church work in this closely inhabited part of the city, has yet made it greatly more difficult to maintain by reason of the constantly diminishing financial ability and pecuniary responsibility of the congregation.[10]

The Church of the Messiah flourished for twenty-two years under its rector, the Rev. George M. Randall. In 1859 gallery pews were added to the church, 'affording sittings for eighty persons, which are *free*'.[11] Randall resigned in 1866, having been consecrated Missionary Bishop of Colorado. The size of the parish, as indicated by the number of communicants reported in 1869, only three years after Randall's leaving, had shrunk about two-thirds.[12] The Church of the Messiah continued into the twentieth century, but the Diocese of Massachusetts relied on the parishes of the Back Bay for missionary work beginning about 1870. St. Stephen's 'Free Church' Chapel burned in the Boston Fire of 9 November 1872. When services could be held once more, a hall in South Boston was found to be a more suitable location.[13] The growth of population in Boston during Bishop Eastburn's episcopate, as illustrated by the South End, showed that the diocese could meet the needs and demands of residents in this area for Episcopal worship, but it met them on the basis of help in 'getting going', not, however, in 'keeping going'.

While St. Mark's and the Church of the Messiah attempted to answer the demands for Episcopal societies in the south part of the city, a group which was to be known as the Church of the Advent organized a parish in the northwestern part of the city in September 1844. A little over a year later, in November 1845, two men and five women organized in East Boston an Episcopal society called St. John's parish. This little group had considerably less impor-

10. *JM*, 1885, p. 104. William Dean Howells in his novel *The Rise of Silas Lapham* noted the social change at the South End in the late '70s and early '80s.

11. *JM*, 1859, p. 53.

12. The diocesan report gave 365 communicants in 1866, and 120 in 1869. *JM*, 1866, p. 58; 1869, p. 78.

13. *JM*, 1873, pp. 93–94.

tance than the Church of the Advent, but it evidenced the basic pattern of diocesan development in the presence of the spread of other branches of the Christian Church, in increasingly industrial areas. From October 1845, St. John's, East Boston, used for its first place of worship 'a small store under Ritchie Hall', until 1848.[14] In Ritchie Hall itself, the Unitarians held services for the first time beginning in September 1845. The Roman Catholic Church said its first Mass in East Boston at St. Nicholas Church, formerly the Maverick Congregational Society's church, early in 1844.[15] The Episcopal society erected two churches, both of which were blown down, but their third building remained standing. In 1855, by the paying up of a debt of $3000, 'chiefly by the kindness of members of Trinity and St. Paul's Churches of Boston', the church was eligible for consecration, which Bishop Eastburn performed on 13 November.[16] On occasions such as this rescue of St. John's, East Boston, in a real way the large parishes of the city of Boston proper were the heart of the diocese and its missionary effort. St. Paul's and Trinity constantly had lay and clerical members on the standing committee, which meant that the demands of the Church in Boston and its immediate neighborhood were realized and dealt with on the parochial level by the same group of men who held the major responsibility for the welfare of the diocese as a whole. Bishop Eastburn's diocesan address in 1844 illustrated the value to the diocese of aid given at the local or parochial level. The bishop pointed out that there were two subjects 'of peculiar interest', for which the convention should record 'devout and cheerful thanksgiving to God . . .'.[17] One subject was the William Appleton gift for a chapel already mentioned. The other, apparently more important as the bishop cited it first, was the 'rescue' of two parishes adjacent to Boston. The parishes were St. John's, Charlestown, and St. James', Roxbury. 'Through the generous, self-denying, and indefatigable exertions of a few members of our Church in this city,

14. William H. Sumner, *A History of East Boston* (Boston, 1858), pp. 649–650.

15. Sumner, *East Boston*, pp. 650–651, 655. The population of East Boston was 'about 6500' in 1847. *Ibid.*, p. 535.

16. Sumner, *East Boston*, p. 650; *JM*, 1856, pp. 21–22.

17. *JM*, 1844, p. 25.

seconded by the liberal contributions of those to whom they applied for aid', said Eastburn, these two parishes had been delivered 'from those pecuniary embarrassments by which they had been so long pressed to the earth, and which had at last brought them to the verge of immediate dissolution'.[18] To the individuals who did this rescue work, the gratitude of 'our whole Church' was due, reported the bishop, and added that 'those gentlemen . . . by God's grace, were led to give up, for a time, personal ease, and the care of important personal interests, for the purpose of completing an object in which the salvation of immortal souls, and the honor of our Communion, were so deeply involved. . . . May God reward . . . [them] tenfold into their bosom!'[19] From Bishop Eastburn's words it appeared that the maintenance of already organized parishes took more effort and aroused less interest than the forming of new parishes. A parish with its rector and congregation that had been admitted to the convention was a known quantity at least theologically. Only one parish, Nantucket, in the diocese had drawn Eastburn's sharp reproval in his initial reports. In the threatened 'immediate dissolution' of two other parishes, not only was the 'honor' of the diocese involved, but to abandon the Church in Charlestown, the scene of the Ursuline Convent incident in 1834, would be to pay a gratuitous compliment to the Roman Catholic Church of St. Mary's, dedicated 10 May 1829.[20]

Another reason that the rescue of St. John's and St. James' Churches received Eastburn's high commendation was that in doing their task, the laymen and friends of the two parishes had shown, at least temporarily, how they valued the Church. They sacrificed, 'for a time', their leisure and their business. Bishop

18. *JM*, 1844, p. 25.

19. *JM*, 1844, p. 26. The annual reports by the rectors of St. John's and St. James' maintained the anonymity of the bishop's report. St. John's rector, the Rev. P. H. Greenleaf, mentioned the group as 'a few friends in Boston, whose names are well known, and whose praise is in all the churches . . .'. The Rev. Mark Howe of St. James' identified the benefactors as the people of this parish, and the generous aid of friends of the Church in Boston . . .'. Howe further noted that by the untiring 'Christian zeal and activity' of the 'ladies' of his parish, $500 was raised. *JM*, 1844, pp. 67, 75.

20. Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), III, 519–520.

Eastburn stated his hope that 'such examples of disinterested devotion to the Kingdom of Christ now so rare' among Churchmen would 'daily increase'.[21] Not depending wholly upon such 'daily increase', the bishop suggested that no new church building should be undertaken without financial ability to complete it.[22]

This lesson in financial responsibility did not miss its mark with the infant Episcopal society, the Church of the Advent, organized on 14 September 1844. The organization meeting took place at the house of Dr. George C. Shattuck on Cambridge Street.[23] Unlike the beginnings of St. Paul's Church twenty-five years before, the Church of the Advent started in the usual manner of Episcopal societies throughout the diocese. Services commenced on 1 December (Advent Sunday) 1844 in a hall at 13 Merrimac Street.[24] Two factors determined the location of the parish in the northwestern area of Boston. Church ministration 'to the poor and needy . . . in the midst of a new and populous district' would be provided by the parish.[25] Also, the man named as the Advent's first rector, the Rev. William Croswell, already had many friends in this section of Boston. R. H. Dana, Jr., writing to his father before the parish was organized, remarked that 'Mr. Croswell is very popular at the North End, and we hope he will fill us up.'[26] Unlike other self-supporting parishes in the diocese, the founders of the Advent organized the society 'for rich and poor alike'.[27] Prior to holding the first services, the rector, wardens, and vestry circulated a 'printed card', which declared that the 'sittings will be free to all', and that the Church will be 'supported . . . by the voluntary obla-

21. *JM*, 1844, p. 26.

22. *Ibid.* The Annual Convention of 1852 enacted a canon ostensibly enabling the standing committee, on the basis of financial condition or outlook, to control the admission of new parishes into the diocese. This 'Canon of 1852' was repealed in 1857. *JM*, 1852, p. 40; 1857, p. 46. In 1868 General Convention enacted a canon (Title I, Canon 21) which forbade the consecration of a church, unless it were free of debt. *JGC*, 1868.

23. *A Sketch of the History of the Parish of The Advent in . . . Boston* (printed for the parish, 1894), p. 15.

24. *Sketch of Advent*, p. 19.

25. *JM*, 1845, p. 59.

26. Letter of R. H. Dana, Jr., Boston, to R. H. Dana, Sr., 7 Sept. 1844, in Dana MSS (Massachusetts Historical Society). Croswell had been rector of Christ Church, Boston, from 1829 to 1840; then he had been rector of St. Peter's, Auburn, N. Y., where he had served under Bishop DeLancey of Western New York.

27. *Ibid.*

tions of the worshippers'.[28] In order to make the parish of the Advent an immediate success, careful planning was vital.

At the outset, the corporation, which corresponded to the proprietors of other parishes, but without any ownership of pews, counted on a large enough number of parishioners to help support the Church consistently. The services were designed, in conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, to emphasize traditional doctrines and ancient usages of the Anglican Church, by means of ceremonialism. These doctrines and usages were not new in the American branch of the Anglican Communion, but at the time of the founding of the Advent they were colored and enhanced by the Tractarian or Oxford Movement in England.[29] In Boston there always had been either a small group of High Church individuals, or at least a tolerance of individuals holding High Church views, under both Griswold and Eastburn.[30] The first report of Croswell to the convention of 1845 showed that the founders of the parish could rely on some forty families as regular members.[31] The number of communicants increased gradually but steadily under Croswell from 'about 70' in his first diocesan report to 189 in 1851, the year of the rector's death.[32] The constantly growing numbers assured also an increase in the voluntary offerings.

The original organization of the parish of the Advent centered about the persons of Richard H. Dana, Jr., George C. Shattuck, Jr., and the Rev. William Croswell. In his wish to minister to the poor of Boston, Croswell had indicated that he would be rector of the new parish for $1000 for the year, 'besides the offertory'.[33] Shattuck believed that Croswell's 'tact and discretion' would prevent antagonism on Bishop Eastburn's part.[34] Apart from the rector,

28. *Sketch of Advent*, pp. 17–18.

29. The Oxford Movement and its inevitable successor, the controversy over ritualism, properly do not belong to a history of the Diocese of Massachusetts. The effects of the Oxford Movement shook the diocese, especially in the case of the Advent. That incident has been published in its entirety. What is told here may simplify, and possibly indicate the significance of, the incident.

30. The standing committee took no official action to punish the parish at Nantucket, offensive to both bishops though it was.

31. *JM*, 1845, p. 59.

32. *JM*, years cited.

33. Letter to R. H. Dana, Jr., Boston, to, R. H. Dana, Sr., 7 Sept. 1844, in Dana MSS.

34. *Ibid.*

however, the wardens and vestry also would have to be carefully selected in order to have the bishop's approval for induction into office. On 30 September 1844 Dana wrote to his father in Beverly, and said 'I have obtained the Bishop's consent to our doings and to Mr. Croswell. Every one seems pleased with our choice. We have engaged a hall . . . to hold 300 people, and to be furnished as we choose inside. In the meantime, determined to begin with 1st Sunday in Advent [for the sake of the name and associations] even if it be in a parlor.'[35] He went on to inform his father that the corporation 'chose Mr. Metcalf and yourself wardens, with the express understanding that you should have no duty to perform, but for the purpose of having two good names to the bishop . . . you can resign after that if you choose'.[36] To insure the continuing financial success of the new parish, Dana told his father that 'I am willing to give up the pew at St. Paul's [Boston], and give my share of its rent toward the support of the service. Others will do the same.'[37] At this time Dana, Jr., was but twenty-nine years old.

His contemporary, Dr. George C. Shattuck, Jr., was thirty-one years old and one of the incorporators of the Advent. He became a warden in 1855 and served in that office until two years before his death in 1893.[38] Like Amos Adams Lawrence, religion 'pursued' him, at least in his fragmentary diary.[39] From the time of his boyhood at Round Hill School, Dr. Shattuck had been acquainted

35. Dana, Sr., was definitely on the side of Trinitarian as distinguished from Unitarian religious views at this time, but not a member of any Episcopal society. Letter of R. H. Dana, Boston, to Miss Anne Marsh, Wethersfield, Conn., 13 Feb. 1844, in Dana MSS. In this letter Dana said, 'If there ever was a thing misunderstood by those without, and mis-conceived and ill-presented by those within, it has been this church [Episcopal] for the last 50 years in N. England.'

36. Letter of R. H. Dana, Jr., Boston, to R. H. Dana, Sr., Beverly, 30 Sept. 1844, in Dana MSS.

37. Letter of R. H. Dana, Jr., Boston, to R. H. Dana, Sr., 7 Sept. 1844, in Dana MSS.

38. *Parish of the Advent in the City of Boston, A History of One Hundred Years, 1844–1944* (Boston, 1944), pp. 8, 189. Dr. Shattuck's father 'belonged to no one set or denomination of Christians'. He left portions of his estate—in shares ($500 each) of Cocheco Co. stock—to Trinitarian, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic charities. C. A. Bartol, *Discourse . . . on Death of Dr. Shattuck* (Boston, 1854), p. 23; Edward Jarvis, M.D., *Memoir of Shattuck* (Boston 1854), pp. 3–4.

39. 'Diary' of George C. Shattuck, Jr., entry for 23 Sept. 1839. Mass. Medical Library.

with the Episcopal Church. At Round Hill he met Frederick William Brune, Jr., from Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Shattuck married, in 1840, Anne Henrietta Brune, a sister of his classmate. Both men kept a continuing interest in the affairs of their respective dioceses during their lifetime.[40] With the young men, Shattuck and Dana, and the backing of their unusually able fathers, the Advent presented a strong front from its beginnings.

Financially the position of the Advent was secure. Croswell reported in 1851 that the experiment '. . . of a *free Church* for the daily worship of God, entirely depending upon the voluntary offerings of the worshippers, has been signally successful'.[41] To meet the cost of buying and altering its first church building, on Green Street, $17,000 out of $25,000 was raised 'at once . . . not from the Episcopal community generally, but . . . by the members of the congregation themselves . . .'.[42] One exception to this otherwise wholly parochial undertaking proved to be a gift of $2500 from a few parishioners of Bishop Eastburn's at Trinity. This unequivocal endorsement of the Church of the Advent by 'a few generous friends in Trinity Church' revealed an awareness of the potential strength and inspiration that the Advent might become in the diocese.

Before the friends of the Advent in Trinity had given to the building fund, Bishop Eastburn had made his first visitation to the congregation of the Church of the Advent, on the evening of 23 November 1845. He had administered the rite of confirmation to seventeen persons at that time. Not until eleven years later, 14 December 1856, did Eastburn again make an episcopal visitation to the Advent.[43] The years between these dates were marked by differences of viewpoint between the bishop on the one side, and the rector and corporation of the Advent on the other. A new canon on

40. For a sketch of Brune see *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879 [1878]), p. 10. For Shattuck, see Caleb Davis Bradlee, *A Brief Sketch of . . . Prof. George Cheyne Shattuck* (Boston, 1894). Bradlee states (p. 5) that Shattuck 'changed his church relations as a Unitarian, and became an ardent Episcopalian', shortly after his marriage.

41. *JM*, 1851, p. 48.

42. *JM*, 1848, p. 54.

43. *JM*, 1846, p. 16; 1857, p. 20.

episcopal visitations, enacted in October 1856 at the twenty-fifth general convention of the Church, immediately influenced Eastburn to include the Advent in his diocesan visits. The Advent's candidates for confirmation no longer had either to 'team up' with candidates of other Boston parishes for, or to go without, the laying on of hands. The differences, however, between the bishop and the Advent were not, and could not be, composed.[44]

The diocese outside of Boston took little notice of the Church of the Advent. In 1845 Vinton declined to serve on the standing committee, and the convention elected Croswell, rector of the Advent, in his place.[45] During the one year that Croswell was on the standing committee the Washburn incident occurred at St. Paul's, Newburyport. Edward A. Washburn, who as a student at Harvard and at Andover Theological Seminary revealed himself 'a careful reader and a thorough scholar', had left the ministry of the Congregational Church for that of the Episcopal Church.[46] Clark characterized his churchmanship as 'at once evangelical and catholic . . . anchored securely to the old creeds and the Bible, but with sufficient play of the rope to allow for the rising tide and the occasional surging of the elements'.[47] A week before his scheduled advancement to the priesthood by Bishop Eastburn in the summer of 1845, word of Andrew Jackson's death reached Newburyport. To signal this close of an epoch, Washburn, who was yet in deacon's orders, asked one of St. Paul's parishioners if there were a Collect appro-

44. From Bishop Eastburn's viewpoint at the Advent 'certain arrangements in the Church . . . and a certain mode of conducting Divine service [were] . . . at variance with the Protestant character of our Church, and tending to the inculcation of unsound doctrine'. On the Advent's side the organization of the parish had made reasonable allowance for the well-known opinions of the bishop, but a slight departure from the usual formal manner of conducting the services, a half-step toward what was later to be termed ritualism or ceremonialism, was the primary cause of its organization and a cornerstone of its existence. Both bishop and parish argued not on grounds of doctrine, but from usage, and the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. These points of usage or tradition, and of rubrics, could be used for negative as well as positive evidence. See annual diocesan reports and the addresses of Bishop Eastburn for 1845–56.

45. *JM*, 1845, p. 34.

46. Thomas M. Clark, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1895), pp. 110–111.

47. Clark, *Reminiscences*, p. 111. Clark said of Washburn, 'We have never had a man in our ranks who, in dealing with the great problems of thought which pertain to our time, struck nearer the heart of things than he' (p. 113).

priate for use in one of his Sunday services. The result was Washburn's reading '. . . at the appropriate time . . . [of] the commendatory prayer in the office of the Visitation of the Sick'.[48] Word of a prayer for the dead being uttered by Mr. Washburn reached the standing committee immediately. Bishop Eastburn, too, learned of it but planned for Washburn's ordination at St. Paul's along with two other candidates. The standing committee voted an interdiction of Washburn's ordination, to which the bishop, the sixteen visiting clergymen, the parishioners of St. Paul's, and even the two other candidates reluctantly submitted.[49] By October 1845 the 'surging of the elements had quieted; the alleged Romish tendencies of Washburn, and the late President Jackson, no longer alarmed the standing committee. Bishop Eastburn ordained Washburn to the priesthood on 9 October, not in his own parish church, but in Grace Church, Boston.[50] Croswell had suggested that the standing committee confer both with the bishop and with Washburn prior to its forbidding the ordination, but the standing committee 'overruled' him by five to one. When the standing committee had acted, its ban threw the parish 'into prodigious excitement', and the proprietors of St. Paul's drew up and signed a petition 'urging the bishop to make an appointment for the ordination at an early day'.[51] After its rector had been ordained, St. Paul's parish again settled down 'to move quietly in the grooves worn by the fathers'.[52] Croswell was not elected to the standing committee in 1846, and indeed, the Church of the Advent had no representation on the committee until 1862.[53]

After the Washburn case, the standing committee did not again restrain the bishop. After the death of Croswell in 1851, the Ad-

48. Clark, *Reminiscences*, p. 112.

49. The other two candidates were E. F. Slafter and D. G. Estes. The standing committee for 1845–46 was the Revs. John Woart, G. M. Randall, William Croswell, and Messrs. G. M. Dexter, E. S. Rand, Jr., and Otis Daniell. Woart and Rand, both natives of Newburyport, served as president and secretary of the standing committee. *JM*, 1846, pp. 11, 31; [Rev. Henry Croswell,] *A Memoir of the late Rev. William Croswell, D.D.* (New York, 1853), p. 348.

50. *JM*, 1846, p. 13. Washburn was rector at St. Paul's from 1845 to 1851. John J. Currier, *'Ould Newbury' Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Boston, 1896), p. 418.

51. [Croswell,] *Memoir*, pp. 347–348.

52. Clark, *Reminiscences*, p. 112.

53. *JM*, 1862, p. 147.

vent had a one-time missionary bishop, the Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate, for its rector. Southgate had no more success in securing an episcopal visitation at the Advent than Croswell, but the standing committee took no action, either for or against Bishop Eastburn. William Appleton, a member of the standing committee from 1855 to 1861, noted in 1856 that the bishop 'has had his own way with much opposition . . . [he] is not wise, but I think we should make the best of him'.[54] Though without a pleader on the standing committee the Advent had friends in the diocese. Without a hint of any personal rebuke to Bishop Eastburn, general convention heard the prayer of the Church of the Advent in 1856, which resulted in the episcopal visitation of that year.

In contrast to the Church of the Advent, and to the other Boston societies started by a few individuals of moderate means for the benefit of the many in Boston's South End, was the gathering of St. Paul's, Brookline. Brookline was a residential section for some Boston families. It differed from Boston in that it 'rejoiced in a sense of spaciousness, in the beauty of sweeping lawns and spreading elms, in rural charm at its most gracious . . .'.[55] In this scene dwelt, among some older native families, a group of Boston merchants, 'who had recently built summer residences and permanent homes in Brookline . . .'.[56] The Episcopalianism of both the old and new residents was best set forth by two former rectors of St. Paul's, Boston, Stone and Vinton, and, of course, by Bishop Eastburn. The rural nature of Brookline and the influence of the 'Standing Order' determined the origin and early years of the parish.[57] Five years after its organization, St. Paul's ranked thirty-seventh in number of communicants, but it placed fourth in the amount of

54. Appleton, *Diaries*, 19 Apr. 1856, p. 183. A. A. Lawrence noted in 1854 that 'The Episcopal Convention passed off well. The "Advent" people tried hard to get St. Mary's church for sailors' into the diocese, but without success. B. F. Hal-et[t] used Rich'd Dana, Jr. all up in the argument.' 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. II, p. 334. Letter to Wm. R. Lawrence, 23 May 1854.

55. John G. Curtis, *History of the Town of Brookline, Massachusetts* (Boston and New York, 1933), p. 188.

56. Robert Payne Bigelow, 'Movements and Men in the Early History of St. Paul's Church in Brookline' (MS dated May 1951), p. 12.

57. *JM*, 1853, pp. 16–17. For a more detailed account of the early days of St. Paul's, see below, pp. 178–180.

voluntary money contributions in the list of parishes in Massachusetts.[58] As was true of most rural towns in the diocese, the Episcopal society in Brookline followed the organization of a Baptist Church, a second Congregational society, but preceded the organization of the Roman Church.[59] As Brookline became more of a year-round residential area, and before the building of so many apartments that a newspaper could print an article on 'Brookline as a Bedroom', another Episcopal society sprang from a decision of the sons of Amos Lawrence to have a church 'where the gospel shall be preached after the good old fashion of Trinity and St. Paul's in Boston'.[60] This later society belongs, however, to the post-Civil-War period.

Like Brookline, the North Shore of Boston, including Nahant, Lynn, and Swampscott, also provided summer residences for some Boston families. Nahant and Swampscott were little more than fishing villages when Bishop Eastburn came to Massachusetts; Lynn, however, became a city in 1850.[61] Here in this city of shoe manufactories, as early as 27 January 1819, a 'few persons were organized as a Church', and worshipped 'in the Academy about

58. *JM*, 1854, p. 94. Trinity Church, Church of the Advent, and St. Paul's, all of Boston, were the three churches that bettered St. Paul's, Brookline, offerings.

59. Charles Knowles Bolton, *Brookline, The History of a Favored Town* (Brookline, Mass., 1897), pp. 130–140, 146. By the 1840s the town's first church had become Unitarian; the Baptist society 'was publicly recognized in 1828, the (Harvard) Congregational Society in 1844, the Episcopal in 1849, and the Roman Church, 1853–1854'.

60. Curtis, *Brookline*, p. 316, which mentions an article in *The Chronicle* (Brookline), 'in the 'eighties'; Letter of William R. Lawrence, Boston, to Bishop Eastburn 28 March 1867, 'Lawrence MSS' (Massachusetts Historical Society).

61. Alonzo Newhall and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn*, p. 424. A. A. Lawrence bought a cottage in Nahant in 1847. Nahant was a part of Lynn until 1853, and Swampscott a part of Lynn until 1852. Wm. Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence*, with *Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 66; Cook, *Historical Data*, pp. 47, 65. Led by William H. Eliot in 1831, a group of fifteen 'founders' secured by subscription some $2000 for building 'a chapel where different religious sects might assemble, and . . . "unite in the worship of God." ' The fifteen 'founders' were F. Tudor, T. H. Perkins, William H. Prescott, William H. Eliot, Jonathan Phillips, M. P. Russell, Charles Bradbury, William Appleton, S. A. Eliot, Samuel Hammond, David Sears, P. C. Brooks, Cornelius Coolidge, and Edward Robbins. This society became the Nahant Church. Andrew P. Peabody, *A Sermon* [*on*] . . . *the Founders of the Nahant Church, 22 July 1877* (Cambridge, 1892), pp. 7, 22–24.

four years'.[62] After its failure, a second parish was organized, following the holding of occasional services by the Rev. William H. Lewis of St. Michael's, Marblehead, and by the Rev. John A. Vaughan of Salem. This society built a church which Bishop Griswold consecrated on 20 July 1837, Christ Church.[63] Christ Church remained a missionary station of the diocese until 1841. In that year, the mortgage on the church building was foreclosed, and services were given up.[64] In 1845 Bishop Eastburn reported to the diocesan convention that 'a member of our Church in this city generously undertook . . . the task of endeavoring, by subscriptions in Boston, to recover the building. . . . The church is once more our own; and, having been put into a state of complete repair, is now open for the worship of God, and the ministry of the word and ordinances.'[65] Having in mind the group of Boston families who saved the church in Lynn from extinction, the bishop noted that 'from the proximity of the Church to Nahant, it will afford to the Episcopal summer residents at that watering-place spiritual blessings, of which they have hitherto been deprived'.[66] The paying off of the mortgage on the church building erected by Christ Church parish was accomplished by 'the untiring exertions of a devoted and liberal gentleman of Boston', and the members of 'a number of Episcopal families spending the summer season in Lynn [who were] . . . chiefly non-residents'.[67] The steps this group took followed the procedure for organizing a new parish. Eleven subscribers petitioned a justice of the peace for organization under the law, ' "as a religious society for the maintenance of public worship in the town of Lynn, according to the rites and usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America. . . ." '[68]

62. Newhall, *Lynn*, p. 381. This society called itself St. John's Church. *JM*, 1819, p. 143.

63. *JED*, 1835, p. 11; 1837, p. 8.

64. The holder of the mortgage, 'not a member of the Church', leased the building 'for various religious and secular purposes', from 1840 to 1844. *JM*, 1845, p. 65.

65. *JM*, 1845, pp. 25, 65. This person was Benjamin Tyler Reed. James Arthur Muller, *The Episcopal Theological School 1867–1943* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 10.

66. *JM*, 1845, p. 25.

67. James R. Newhall, 'Historical Address', *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Mass.* (Lynn, 1882), p. 29.

68. *Ibid.* The signers were Edward S. Davis, William H. Hubbard, Robert Farley, George M. Dexter, Edward D. Peters, Benjamin T. Read, Edward S. Rand, William F. Otis, Edward Codman, Robert Appleton, and J. C. Brodhead.

The first meeting took place 20 September 1844 at the home of Edward S. Davis. The proprietors of this new parish named it St. Stephen's Church. In the figure of Edward S. Davis, however, there is a continuity with the 'extinct' parish of Christ Church, as he was senior warden of the latter church.[69] St. Stephen's Church was tied in with the churchmen of Boston, at least in its organizers. This connection with parishioners of St. Paul's Church, Boston, eventually resulted in the building of a new St. Stephen's Church by Enoch Redington Mudge as a memorial for his son and daughter.[70] Lynn remained an industrial city. Nahant and Swampscott provided their own meeting places for the worship of summer residents who were also Episcopalians. Yet today, St. Stephen's Church is one of the great parishes of the diocese and of New England.

Lacking the proximity to the watering-places of Swampscott and Nahant that saved the Episcopal Church in Lynn, St. Luke's parish in Lowell provided an example of the frustration which occasionally faced a small or young Episcopal society, and which the diocese failed to avert. St. Anne's, Lowell, had prospered without help from the mill owners at Lowell. St. Luke's, organized in 1841 by a group about half of which were members of St. Anne's, had started on a church building to accommodate 'a congregation of a thousand people, and a Sunday school-room for more than six hundred pupils'.[71] This program was to cost about $18,000, of which $11,500 had been paid out by 1843. Six thousand dollars was needed to complete the building and pay off the debts. Some members of the St. Luke's vestry applied to the diocese for help through the Church Extension Committee, of which Edson of St. Anne's, Lowell, was secretary.[72] The parishioners and proprietors of St. Luke's were unable to raise the money to complete the church, which was

69. *JM*, 1840, p. 32.

70. Robert Means Lawrence, M.D., *The Descendants of Major Samuel Lawrence* (Cambridge, 1904), pp. 237–238; *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXXVI (Jan. 1882), 90.

71. *JM*, 1842, p. 43; 1845, p. 43.

72. This committee was set up to supervise the financing and architecture of new church buildings. *JM*, 1843, p. 52; 1844, pp. 41, 43, 44, 55–56. The committee included the Revs. Vinton, Edson, and Mason, and Messrs. William Appleton, Dr. Shattuck, Jr., and G. M. Dexter.

sold to a Congregational society in Lowell. Edson's report on St. Luke's, together with the statement of the wardens, brought out some significant facts, not only relevant to the Episcopal Church in Boston, but pertaining to any religious societies in industrial and urban areas, at this time (1846).

The wardens pointed out that, 'Of the vast amount of capital connected with the manufacturing establishments of our city [Lowell], but a very small proportion is possessed by persons resident among us.'[73] They then went on to assert that the taxes on the mill property are spent only 'for city purposes, public schools, etc.', and this property of the mill owners 'is exempted by law from taxation for sustaining the institution of public worship, upon which its security and productiveness, in a manifest degree, depends'.[74] This argument was a reversion to the theory of a state establishment of religion, which ran counter to the current of thought of the Episcopal Church. On the question of expediency the wardens had a point, but 'sustaining the institution of public worship' in the rapidly growing mill centers would have meant the erection of more Roman churches than Episcopal churches. The plea of two vestrymen of St. Luke's to the diocesan committee took a much broader ground, and appealed to the diocese as a whole, and even beyond the limits of the diocese. The wardens said:

> With the masses of population, vacillating and youthful, flowing in upon us like the waves of the ocean, bearing with them the ignorance and prejudices respecting our Church, wherein they have been educated—upon this portion of our population, youthful as they are—powerful and lasting impressions are readily made. They are constantly arriving here and returning to their homes, carrying with them the truths and errors they have here imbibed. If they should be thoroughly indoctrinated into the principles and doctrines of the Church, they would carry and diffuse those doctrines into every town, hundreds of miles around us. Could they become practically acquainted with the simplicity, purity, and truth of our worship, they would return to their friends, and the firesides of their homes, zealous, faithful, efficient missionaries of our cause.[75]

73. *JM*, 1846, p. 41.

74. *JM*, 1846, p. 42. The report was signed by Luke Whitney and Ira Spaulding, wardens of St. Luke's, and dated Lowell, 1 Oct. 1846.

75. *JM*, 1846, pp. 40–41. This quotation was among 'extracts' from a document received by the Church Extension Commit-

The Rev. Theodore Edson, St. Anne's, Lowell, reported to the diocese, as secretary for the extension committee, that the property of St. Luke's had, by sale, 'become entirely alienated from the use of the Episcopal Church'.[76] He then added that,

> The extent of this calamity is not to be measured by the amount of property lost. The indifference thus manifested towards an object so widely connected with the best interests of religion and the welfare of a Church continually taunted for the wealth of its members, reacts with fearful effect upon the community, and demonstrates the importance of an efficient organization not to suppress all action, but to set on foot vigorous and active measures for raising funds whereby to aid the worthy enterprise of building up the Church. . . .[77]

This statement of Edson's revealed yet once more the parochial aspect of the Church in Massachusetts. Lowell with one Episcopal society had no better claim to diocesan funds than any other industrial center of comparable size. With the promise of a large and self-maintaining parish as the offspring of St. Anne's, however, Edson suffered under the apparent indifference of Bishop Eastburn. Admittedly the support, guidance, and direction of the affairs of the diocese resided in the various committees acting by authority of the annual convention. These committees, including the standing committee, were made up of lay and clerical members who, for the most part, belonged to individual parishes. The bishop on the other hand belonged primarily to the diocese. As a leader in diocesan concerns, he had the opportunity for, if not the responsibility of, channeling the resources of the diocese and of directing the work of the committees for the over-all good of the diocese and of the Church at large. In the case of St. Luke's, the bishop did not appear as an advocate for 'vigorous and active measures' for aiding the parish. The Church extension committee itself, though, had taken 'no direct measures for raising funds', as

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tee of the diocese, dated Lowell, 29 July 1846, and signed by John F. Rodgers and Luke Whitney, a committee of St. Luke's vestry. The argument had the familiar ring of 'Give us a child for its first seven years, etc.'

76. *JM*, 1846, p. 44.

77. *JM*, 1846, pp. 44–45. Edson's viewpoint was somewhat biased, as he had had to struggle to keep St. Anne's going in the face of opposition imposed by some of the mill owners.

the Board of Missions had helped to support small or new parishes for ten years.[78] The Board of Missions, which had supported the Rev. Amos D. McCoy as missionary at St. Luke's for at least three years, accepted no diocesan responsibility for the extinction of the parish. The secretary of the board, the Rev. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, used the failure of this parish to read a lesson on New England thrift at the parochial level. 'Nothing is more discouraging to the liberality of the Church', reported Howe, 'than the failure of missionary enterprises on which large sums have been expended. Great care should be taken by infant parishes, not to incur difficulties which may thus not only cripple themselves, but result in depriving others of the sympathy and aid which otherwise might be obtained.'[79]

The 'others' referred to by Howe meant parishes in the western part of the diocese, or in industrial areas in the eastern portion of the diocese, where there was but one Episcopal society. The budget of the Board of Missions for 1845–46 was about $11,700; of this amount one third went to 'Foreign Missions', one third for 'General Domestic Missions', and one third for 'Missions within this Diocese'.[80] The missionary resources of the diocese resided not in diocesan boards and committees but rather in individuals and small groups of the Episcopal Church. William Appleton, as noted above, gave money to build and furnish St. Stephen's Chapel. Two years later in 1848, he gave $5000, which was used to erect in China, by the American Board of Missions, the first Episcopal missionary chapel. This gift was not inspired by an heartfelt interest on Appleton's part in missions, but he regretted the small attendance at St. Paul's, Boston, when a missionary gave the sermon.[81] Personalities raised more missionary funds than reports of committees. When the Rev. William Jones Boone, the Episcopal

78. *JM*, 1846, pp. 45, 56.

79. *JM*, 1846, pp. 61–62. As rector of St. James', Roxbury, Mr. Howe had experienced the situation of having his parish on 'the verge of immediate dissolution'. *JM*, 1844, p. 25.

80. *JM*, 1846, pp. 56–63.

81. '. . . I could well spare more', wrote Appleton but missions did not 'produce the strongest Interest' in him. At St. Paul's he noted that it was 'very strange there should be so little interest in missions'. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 129.

Church's first missionary bishop in China, preached at St. Paul's, Brookline, and subsequently stayed the night at the Appleton's house, William Appleton gave him $500 for the 'China Mission'.[82]

Within the diocese, individual help probably exceeded diocesan aid to missions and weak parishes. Individual givers did not, however, confine their aid to needy parishes alone; they gave naturally enough to parishes they favored or to which they belonged. Regarded by the Board of Missions 'as one of the most important stations in the Diocese', All Saints, Worcester, at long last commenced its great career without important diocesan help. Funds for the critical years of 1844 to 1846 came one-half from within the parish itself and one-half from 'the liberality of the churchmen of Boston'. To Bishop Eastburn's leadership, of course, belonged a portion of the successful effort made in both Worcester and Lynn.[83]

As during the episcopate of Bishop Griswold, water power still was tied in closely with some new Episcopal societies, but more for business than for personal motives. Methuen in the Merrimack River valley had not been without occasional church services from 1833.[84] Before 1845, the Merrimack east, or tidewater side, of Lowell had been known as a source of power; the stretch of the river at the falls between Andover and Methuen revealed a drop of about fifty feet.[85] The capital for utilizing the power was available in 1845, and the Essex Corporation, a group of Boston investors, did for Lawrence what the earlier Locks and Canal Company had done for Lowell.[86] The rector of this new parish for thirty years was the Rev. George Packard, who came to Grace Church with letters dimissory from the Diocese of Virginia.[87] Outside of substantial help

82. Appleton, *Diaries*, pp. 216–217, entry for 26 June 1859.

83. *JM*, 1845, pp. 77–78; 1846, p. 57; 1847, p. 91.

84. Rev. A. H. Amory, *Anniversary Sermon Preached in Grace Church Chapel, October 11, 1896* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 4. Maurice B. Dorgan, *History of Lawrence, Massachusetts, etc.* (pub. by the author, n.p., 1924), pp. 126–127.

85. J. F. C. Hayes, *History of the City of Lawrence* (Lawrence, Mass., 1868), p. 9.

86. The Essex Corp. was incorporated 20 March 1845; Samuel Lawrence, the youngest brother of Amos and Abbott Lawrence, was one of the incorporators. The first directors were Abbott Lawrence, Nathan Appleton, Ignatus Sargent, William Sturgis, and Charles S. Storrow. Hayes, *Lawrence*, pp. 11–17.

87. *JM*, 1844, p. 21. He died in Lawrence 30 Nov. 1876. Packard was a graduate of Bowdoin in 1821, and took his M.D. there in 1825. His brother Joseph Packard

in building its first two churches, Grace Church parish survived and grew by the strength of sheer numbers, as in the case of St. Anne's in Lowell.[88] Its third rector, Mr. A. H. Amory, justly noted that 'The names of Boston's prominent merchants and manufacturers are found on each subscription list to day [1896] and fifty years ago. Men who put their capital here are interested in the moral welfare of the people. Corporations have souls and hearts. The church . . . was built and improved by friends of the city and parish, whose capital is in these mills, but who have rarely, if ever, been within its walls. This generosity and act of benevolence should be given its true value.'[89]

Bishop Eastburn saw no great opportunities for the Church in Lawrence without help from 'those, whose talent and resources are engaged in the work of building up this new settlement . . .'. The bishop also pointed out that the founders of the Essex Corporation at Lawrence 'have from the beginning felt, that, without establishing the Gospel of Christ there . . ., they could expect no blessing from on high'.[90] Like St. Stephen's, Lynn, Grace Church, Lawrence, was 'always to be poor', yet always a strong parish and good training ground for priests and bishops.[91] The Roman Church early saw the rising city of Lawrence 'as a field for religious teaching', and thence they sent 'as pioneer workers for the church, men of large capacity and untiring energy . . .'. The Roman Catholic population exceeded any other Christian society from the beginning, and in 1848 about thirty-five per cent of the population belonged to the Roman Church.[92]

Although both the Roman and the Episcopal societies had the benefit of able pastors, the Roman group developed among a population more than one-third of which 'was naturally [Roman] Catholic in religious tendency', while the Episcopal group grew up sup-

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was also an Episcopal minister, and professor at Virginia Theological Seminary. *General Catalog Bowdoin College* (1950), p. 52.

88. The rector after Packard's death was William Lawrence, later Bishop of Massachusetts. Grace Church was 'the only parish Bishop Lawrence ever held . . .'. Amory, *Sermon*, pp. 7–10.

89. Amory, *Sermon*, p. 7.

90. *JM*, 1847, p. 17.

91. Amory, *Sermon*, p. 7.

92. A Roman church was built and Masses held from mid-1846. Dorgan, *Lawrence*, pp. 126–127.

ported in part by individuals living away from Lawrence. From the time of the building of the Roman church in 1846, its children had the benefit of 'quite a large school'.[93] The number of Episcopalians, however, was small; Grace Church Sunday school numbered only 104, ten years after the society started.[94] In his annual diocesan addresses Bishop Eastburn paid his tribute to the maintenance, in great part, of Grace Church, Lawrence, and St. Stephen's, Lynn, by a few laymen centered in or near Boston. He did not suggest, however, that the parishes themselves could be self-supporting. In Eastburn's early episcopate, it was yet a day of small things for the diocese, and the bishop was primarily concerned with the kind of theology his different parishes preached and professed, and was only secondarily occupied with the extension of the Church into new areas.[95]

93. Dorgan, *Lawrence*, p. 126.

94. Lawrence's population in 1856 was 16,800; in this same year Grace Church reported 103 members. Dorgan, *Lawrence*, p. 174; *JM*, 1856, p. 67.

95. *JM*, 1844, p. 31. Eastburn set himself squarely against any doctrine or practice in the Church which could be connected with the Oxford Movement. What the Oxford Movement meant to a New York state layman of the Episcopal Church (and a brother-in-law of Bishop DeLancey), James Fenimore Cooper, appeared in 1847. Cooper wrote, 'Here we have the Anglo-American church, just as it has finished a blast of trumpets, through the medium of numberless periodicals and a thousand letters from its confiding if not confident clergy, in honor of its quiet and harmony, and superior polity, suspended on the very brink of the precipice of separation, if not of schism, and all because it has pleased certain ultra-sublimated divines in the other hemisphere to write a parcel of tracts that nobody understands, themselves included.' *The Crater, or Vulcan's Peak* (Mohawk Ed., New York and London), p. 7.

CHAPTER XIII

IN his first diocesan address, Bishop Eastburn had mentioned theological training. Specifically he had referred to General Theological Seminary, where he had been a student and later a trustee. In 1842 he could 'speak with confidence in its favor', and he could hope that the clergy in his diocese 'so far as they may have any influence over the minds of young persons looking forward to ordination . . . [would] secure their attendance upon that distinguished seat of theological acquirement'.[1] Three years' residence in New England had, however, shown Eastburn that the people in New England revealed a preference 'towards institutions for education established among themselves'.[2] His opinion, like Bishop Griswold's, was that a diocesan seminary would hold in the Church candidates for the ministry who were also Episcopalians. Without a theological school in the diocese, these candidates could, and did, take advantage of the 'greater facilities for theological education offered by other religious bodies . . .'.[3] Also, in 1846, Bishop Eastburn had felt unsure of the training at General Theological Seminary, and warned that a young candidate's going there was 'a matter at present of doubtful expediency'.[4]

Bishop Eastburn had discussed the establishing of a school of theology with William Appleton and others prior to the diocesan convention of June 1845.[5] William Appleton had definite feelings on the subject. To provide for '. . . the education of ministers and workers for Christ, I feel . . . is a true test of a man's religion',

1. *JM*, 1843, pp. 31–32.
2. *JM*, 1846, p. 29.
3. *Ibid.*
4. This doubt about General Theological Seminary came, of course, from Bishop Eastburn's distrust of the influence of the Oxford Movement on the school. *JGC*, 1844, pp. 230–231.
5. James Arthur Muller, *The Episcopal Theological School, 1867–1943* (Cambridge, 1943), p. 7.

wrote Appleton in 1842, before the diocese had the full-time services of a bishop.[6] When, in the diocesan convention of 1845, Edward S. Rand, Jr., brought up the question of theological education, Bishop Eastburn appointed a committee, of which he himself was named chairman, to report to the next annual convention. Other members of the committee were the Rev. Edward Ballard, the Rev. Charles Mason, William Appleton, William F. Otis, and E. S. Rand, Jr.[7]

The idea of a diocesan seminary had been latent in the mind of Appleton at least as early as 1842. In April of that year, he, with his rector at St. Paul's, Mr. Vinton, met Simon Greenleaf, a layman of Christ Church, Cambridge, and Professor of the Harvard Law School.[8] Greenleaf was, like Appleton, interested in organizing a diocesan seminary, but realized that the efforts and the results of the diocesan convention of 1836 indicated a conservative approach in this field.[9] Like Appleton, again, Greenleaf was a great admirer of Alonzo Potter, who had been on an important committee for a projected diocesan seminary in 1831. Greenleaf wrote Potter in 1839, and expressed his belief that by purchasing 'one of the ample mansions' on Mt. Auburn Street in Cambridge, and by having Potter live there and be at once the sole teacher of the seminary and the rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, some $15,000 might be raised, the plan might work. Potter tactfully declined any invitation again to serve in the diocese.[10] When Appleton and Vinton

6. Appleton, *Diaries* (1 May 1842), p. 93.

7. *JM*, 1845, pp. 41–42. Bishop Eastburn was, of course, the president or presiding officer of the convention; in the journal he is referred to as 'the Chair'. The Chair appointed the committee named above.

8. Simon Greenleaf (1783–1853), born in Newburyport, Mass., removed to Maine as a young man where he attained prominence as a lawyer. He was named Royall Professor of Law at Harvard Law School in 1833, where he taught until 1848. He died in Cambridge in 1853. He had a son, the Rev. Patrick Henry Greenleaf (1807–69), an Episcopal minister, and two daughters. Each of these daughters married men who were Episcopal ministers, the Rev. Samuel Fuller, and the Rev. Andrew Croswell. *Memorial Biographies of New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1853–1855* (Boston, 1881), II, 106–107. The notice of Simon Greenleaf in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1835–1855*, II, 563–568, is unclear in its statement about his children on page 567.

9. *JM*, 1836, pp. 50–52; 1837, p. 41.

10. Muller, *ETS*, p. 6.

met Greenleaf in 1842, Appleton noted in his diary, '. . . much talk as to Theological Seminary: I said, "Now is the time to begin; if you Gentl will put things as they should be, I will purchase the House opposite the Craigie place, if it is to be had for ten thousand dollars." '[11]

Following the death of Bishop Griswold, the plans for a seminary were in abeyance until the years 1845 and 1846. In 1845, Bishop Eastburn's committee 'to promote the cause of Theological Education in the Diocese' was organized. In 1846, at the diocesan convention, the Rev. A. H. Vinton reported for the Committee on Theological Education that in line with his wish to found a 'Divinity School', William Appleton had '. . . actually contributed for that purpose, the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, upon the conditions set forth in a certain Indenture, exhibited to this Convention'.[12] The conditions were not met; the diocese was to be without a school for more than a score of years.

Appleton's 1846 plan was both conservative and largely a family affair. He wrote in 1842 that his son Amory 'fully agrees with me in the course I propose' to educate ministers for the diocese.[13] Amory died in 1843, but in 1846 William Appleton still had two sons and two sons-in-law, all interested in the Episcopal Church. Here was a ready-made committee who had obvious reasons for

11. Appleton, *Diaries* (30 Apr. 1842), p. 93.

12. *JM*, 1845, p. 41. The indenture mentioned was an agreement made between William Appleton and four trustees, J. S. C. Greene, A. A. Lawrence, F. H. Appleton, J. W. Appleton, all sons or sons-in-law of Mr. Appleton. The agreement was dated 9 May 1846; it provided that the trustees should hold in trust 200 shares of the Bank of Commerce, and 100 shares of the Bank of America, New York City, which Mr. Appleton had given to the trustees. This stock was described as 'exceeding in value the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars . . .'. If the trustees secured a further sum of $25,000 or more, within two years, they were to sell the bank stocks, and pay to Mr. Appleton any amount, including dividends, over $25,000. Then the trustees were to create an endowment fund of $50,000 (or more, if the original amount were exceeded) for the projected 'Protestant Episcopal Divinity School of Massachusetts'. The indenture stated that the bishop of the diocese 'for the time being, shall, *ex-officio*, always be a member of the said Board of Trustees [of the School], and shall, when present, preside at their meetings . . .'. Were the original gift of Appleton not matched within two years, the trustees were to 'refund and repay . . . on request' whatever sums had been contributed, including the bank stocks of Mr. Appleton. *JM*, 1846, pp. 47–53, 69–70.

13. Appleton, *Diaries* (2 May 1842), p. 93.

working together. After the convention of June 1846, Appleton wrote that 'my proposition for a Divinity School . . . will be carried into effect is doubtful in my mind. I think much good would be derived by the Institution, but God will devise all for good.'[14]

William Appleton's grandson, Bishop William Lawrence, remarked some seventy years later that ' "From our present point of view 'God devised for good,' in causing the plan to fall through," for had this, or any of the previous efforts, been successful, the School would have been a local institution under diocesan control.'[15]

Both Bishop Lawrence's comment and William Appleton's 'doubtful mind' revealed the latent tensions always present in the annual conventions of the diocese. Historically these tensions arose from the congregational and parochial viewpoint to which the diocesan conventions were always subject. These tensions, also, developed from an incomplete understanding of the Book of Common Prayer by far too many clergy and laymen, who were drawn to the Church by their preference for the prayer book forms of Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, but who, at the same time, were apparently indifferent to the Ordinal with its forthright preface.[16]

William Appleton's 'Indenture' sought at the outset to avoid tensions by keeping the projected plan for a seminary in the hands of his immediate family. On the diocesan level, owing in part to the relatively small numbers of churchmen in the diocese and to their concentration near Boston, family, social, and even business cohesiveness helped to surmount the tensions. This cohesiveness showed itself in at least two ways. Firstly, clergy and laymen served the Church, as was pointed out above, in both parish and diocese,

14. Appleton, *Diaries* (3 June 1846), p. 120.

15. Muller, *ETS*, p. 7.

16. In the preface to the Ordinal it is clearly stated that '. . . from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church,—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons'. The authority for these orders is self-evident to all men '. . . diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors . . .'. The prayer book terms the morning and evening services '. . . Daily Morning Prayer', and 'Daily Evening Prayer', not confining the services to Sundays, saints' days, or holy days, hence providing a form of service to be used on every day of the week.

for long periods of time. Secondly, the relationships, on several different levels, of many individuals numbered as Episcopalians, had a firmer foundation than was at first sight apparent. A very little closer reading of the seemingly dull and repetitious annual reports of the diocese, for example, reveals the social or family unitedness of the Church. An instance of this coherence appeared in the report for 1848.

In his annual diocesan address of that year, Bishop Eastburn noted that at Trinity Church, Boston, on 2 February 1848, he had ordained to the priesthood the Rev. Andrew Croswell.[17] The Rev. Patrick H. Greenleaf preached the sermon, and the Rev. Thomas M. Clark assisted Eastburn 'in the laying on of hands'.[18] From this summary recording of a routine episcopal act the following facts emerge. Clark, just appointed assistant minister at Trinity Church on the Greene Foundation, had been a fellow student of Greenleaf's under Bishop Griswold. Griswold had ordained them within four months of one another in 1836. Both Clark and Greenleaf were converts to the Episcopal Church in the sense that their immediate families, both residing in Newburyport, were not members of the Church there. Greenleaf's father, Simon, was (as stated above) a close friend and adviser of William Appleton in diocesan affairs, while Clark's father, Thomas, Sr., was connected with Appleton in the group of persons who had been permitted to subscribe to stock in the Pawtucket Canal Co. Andrew Croswell, the central figure in this ordination scene, was married to Caroline Augusta Greenleaf, who was at once the daughter of Simon and the sister of Patrick H. Greenleaf, who preached the sermon.[19] Bishop Eastburn alone appeared to be the only figure outside of this quasi-family circle.[20]

By his marriage to Mary Jane Head, granddaughter of Joseph

17. Eastburn gave this address in Trinity Church, Boston, at the annual convention on 14 June 1848. *JM*, 1848, p. 3.

18. *JM*, 1848, p. 17.

19. *Trinity Church*, p. 201; Cleaveland and Packard, *History of Bowdoin College* (Boston, 1882), pp. 301–302; Rt. Rev. George Burgess, *List of . . . Order of Deacons, etc.* (Boston, 1875), nos. 1110 and 1100; Thomas M. Clark, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1895), p. 73; *Memorial Biographies of N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc.*, II, 109; Nathan Appleton, *Introduction of the Power Loom and Origin of Lowell* (Lowell, 1858), p. 22.

20. The Rev. William Withington, then 'residing in Dorchester', Mass., assisted Eastburn. *JM*, 1848, pp. 17, 120.

Head of Trinity Church, Boston, Eastburn must be numbered with the merchant families of post-Revolutionary Boston.[21] His twin sister, Charlotte Sophia Eastburn, had married in New York City, 25 January 1844, Richard Clarke Cabot, a one-time partner in a commission firm of dry goods merchants in Boston. She had died in Boston 7 February 1848 without issue.[22] Eastburn's position as rector of Trinity, however, gave him more of a place in Boston society than did his position as Bishop of Massachusetts. Having spent the earlier years of his life in New York City, where he went to college and seminary, having married as his first wife Mary Glover[23] of New York, and having made a great success of the building up of the parish of the Church of the Ascension, Eastburn must have felt that New York was his home, and the abode of his admirers and closest friends.[24] From the letters written to Amos A. Lawrence by Bishop Eastburn, it is apparent that Lawrence was an intimate friend of the bishop. It is equally apparent, though, that Lawrence was more intimate with the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton as the rector of his parish in Boston (St. Paul's).[25]

The insistence of Bishop Eastburn on his own peculiar kind of theology shut him off from what would have been an easily obtainable social intercourse in Boston society, more than had the shyness outside of a pulpit or a church of his predecessor, Bishop Griswold. Vinton appraised Eastburn's theology as never reaching down to 'the deep things of God', nor did it soar to the sublime, nor did it include 'the wide philosophy of the Gospel in its relations to the forms of human life,—political, civic, or social'.[26] The

21. Mary Jane Head's father, George Edward Head, had an older brother Charles, who married, in 1814, Sarah Winslow Tyng, daughter of Dudley Atkins Tyng of Newburyport. For Mary Jane (Head) Eastburn see *Boston Evening Transcript*, 26 and 27 Feb. 1906. See also Edmund J. and Horace G. Cleveland, *The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families* (Hartford, 1899, 3 vols.), p. 1056.

22. L. Vernon Briggs, *Cabot Family* (Boston, 1927), II, 639.

23. Mary Glover was the daughter of John I. Glover. Ogden Codman, 'Genealogical Collections', Head Family, at the Boston Athenaeum.

24. Apparently Eastburn's first wife was a chronic invalid; she probably died before his second marriage on 30 Jan. 1856. His first marriage took place 25 May 1826. Codman, 'Gen. Coll.', Head Family.

25. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', MSS dated 3 March, 9 Aug., 1851; 19 Feb., 5 June, 24 Aug., 1852.

26. A. H. Vinton, *A Memorial Discourse of Bishop Eastburn* (Boston, 1873), p. 7.

comments of Vinton on Bishop Eastburn reveal that Eastburn's great success in building up the parish of the Church of the Ascension in New York took place in an atmosphere of 'uncordial tolerance', which was 'equivalent to opposition', on the part of his diocesan, Bishop Onderdonk.[27] When at the death of Bishop Griswold, Eastburn became himself a diocesan, he no longer suffered from 'opposition', but he could not completely control his diocese as he had led and formed his New York parish. He still felt the weight of 'uncordial tolerance' to himself personally in what he called the 'Romanism' which he found in some parishes in Massachusetts and in the Anglican Communion as a body.[28] Realizing that 'Romanizing' trends were recognized and accepted in the Anglican Communion, Eastburn rather dreaded a visit, in the summer of 1867, to London where he was present at the Lambeth Conference. He both expected and feared that many of the clergy present at Lambeth would witness against 'protestant truth'.[29] His fears lacked substance, however, and he experienced a heart-warming social relationship with the delegates present because of 'the kind hospitality of the Primate', and the pleasure 'enjoyed [by meeting] with so many distinguished prelates from various parts of the world'.[30] Any 'Romanizing' trends among the members of the conference were overlaid by a prevailing feeling of friendship.

Eastburn's theology was narrow to the point where comments on 'Romanizing' were present in varying forms in most of his annual addresses to the diocesan conventions. Especially sensitive to, or perhaps rigid about, the position of the reading desk in the chancel of the newly built churches which he visited, Eastburn underscored his approval of finding the reading desk facing the congregation as

27. Vinton, *Eastburn*, p. 8.

28. The Church of the Advent, Boston, and Trinity, Nantucket, were typical examples.

29. *JM*, 1868, p. 35.

30. *JM*, 1868, p. 36. This Lambeth Conference which met in 1867 was the first of eight conferences which have been held to date (1954). *The Episcopal Church Annual, 1953*, p. 350. The primate who issued the invitations to the Lambeth Conference was Charles Thomas Longley, who as Bishop of Ripon in 1848 'firmly suppressed "Roman catholic teaching and practices" at St. Saviour's, Leeds, and his action created much adverse comment, but his critics altered their tone and several of the clergy of St. Saviour's went over to Rome'. *DNB*, XXXIV, 121.

it did in the new Chapel of St. James, Roxbury, and as it did in the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, a mission of Emmanuel Church in Boston.[31] To have the reading desk face at right angles to the congregation, or to have the priest face the altar while praying, was a 'Romanizing practice' in Eastburn's judgment. His remarks in 1867 show how consistently he had continued the stand which Bishop Griswold had taken in regard to the chancel arrangements in Trinity Church, Nantucket, and in St. Stephen's, Portland.[32]

The views set forth by both Griswold and Eastburn about the Roman Catholic Church did not find any warm response among Episcopalians in general in the Diocese of Massachusetts. The period 1810–72 saw the development of nativism; this period also witnessed an unsuccessful attempt by the Protestant Churches to restrain the growth of the Roman Church by educating the American-born children of immigrants under the supervision of Protestants, and by attempting to convert the immigrants themselves to the Protestant religion. The Presbyterian Church was in the van of the nativist and anti-Roman groups, while the Episcopal Church was in the rear or sometimes did not work with these groups at all.[33] To understand the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts in these years (1810–72) is not to view it in terms of an anti-Church of Rome sermon by Bishop Griswold;[34] it is not to

31. *JM*, 1868, pp. 26–27. The Chapel of the Good Shepherd near the corner of Cortes and Ferdinand (now Arlington) Streets, a brick building, 'was erected by the parishioners of Emmanuel Church; the cost of the land and chapel being about $30,000'. It had some 400 seats. Having been 'begun and forwarded . . . by Bishop Huntington' as the rector of Emmanuel Church, the mission Chapel of the Good Shepherd was consecrated by Bishop Eastburn 2 April 1868. *JM*, 1872, p. 67.

32. See above, pp. 87–88.

33. E.g., ' "All the Protestant sects excepting the Episcopalians joined in supporting and encouraging street preaching [in 1851]," ' records Ray Allen Billington in *The Protestant Crusade 1800–1860, etc.* (New York, 1938), p. 319. Billington stresses the anti-Roman aspect of the American Bible Society and of the American Tract Society, but when A. A. Lawrence receives as a wedding present a life-membership in the American Bible Society from his father, Amos Lawrence, to provide his son with a knowledge and love of the Bible were the motives of the elder man rather than to stir up his son against the Pope and the Roman Church. Billington, *passim*; 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. IV, no. 80.

34. Such a sermon is Alexander Griswold, *The Reformation, A Brief Exposition of Some of the Errors and Corruptions of . . . Rome* (Boston, 1843).

judge it in terms of the controversy between Bishop Eastburn and the Church of the Advent, Boston; it is not to regard it through the Massachusetts group of the American Bible Society, though Amos A. Lawrence, his brother William Richards Lawrence, and their sister's husband, the Rev. Charles Mason, were directors of the society and life members.[35] To see the Episcopal Church as it was near the middle of the nineteenth century in Massachusetts is to see a Church that numbered but a small minority of those persons who called themselves Christians.[36] Of this small minority of Christians, some 4700 persons in 1847, slightly less than 2000 persons (42½%) belonged to parishes or missions within the new limits of the city of Boston.[37] Of the remaining 2700 Church members, some 1900 persons belonged to parishes located east of Worcester County. In Worcester County, and the four counties west of it, Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire, there were in 1847 exactly 844 Church members, or some 18% of the total Church membership in the diocese.[38] The journal of the diocese for 1847 lists 55 parishes and missions; the journal for 1872 lists 97 parishes and missions. The number of Church members in 1872 was about 11,700.[39] Within today's bounds of Boston, and including the city of Chelsea, the number of members was some 4300 or 37% of the total number of Church members. Of the 97 parishes of

35. Members in the American Bible Society were 'Directors for Life, by the payment of one hundred and fifty dollars, or upward'. *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Bible Society* (New York, 1845), pp. 150, 152.

36. The number of members (i.e., communicants) of the Episcopal Church in June 1847 was 4665, of whom 69 were listed as 'Clergy of the Diocese'. *JM*, 1847, pp. 106, 136. The population of Massachusetts in 1847 was about 860,000, which means that about 1 in 184 persons were members of the Episcopal Church. The national ratio of Episcopal Church membership to total population was 1 in 271. *Bureau of the Census, A Century of Population Growth . . . 1790–1900* (Washington, G.P.O., 1909), p. 57; *Living Church Annual, 1951*, p. 26. The figures are based on interpolation of the figures given for 1840 and 1850, and are, therefore, only approximate.

37. The exact figures were: 1671 members of ten Boston parishes or missions, 120 members of the Charlestown Church (St. John's), and 181 of the two Roxbury Churches (St. James' and St. John's), which total 1972. If the 70 members of St. Luke's, Chelsea, be added, the total is 2942. *JM*, 1847, pp. 72, 82, 106.

38. *JM*, 1847, pp. 90-95, 106.

39. *JM*, 1847, p. 106; 1872, list following pp. 170, 210. The journal for 1872 covers the calendar year 11 May 1871 to 1 May 1872. The exact number of members was 11,706, while the number of clergy in the diocese was 210.

the diocese in 1872, 70 were east of Worcester County. In the five more western counties, Worcester County had nine, Hampden had three, Hampshire had three, Franklin had two, and Berkshire had ten parishes.[40] The expansion of the Church in the first seven decades, then, centered in and around Boston.

It was in the Boston area, too, that a number of conversions from the Episcopal Church to the Roman Church took place. These conversions were only noteworthy in the history of the diocese as the converts were socially prominent in the case of lay conversions, or as the converts became priests of the Roman Church. In the former instance, 'On February 11, 1846, Bishop Fitzpatrick received into the Church [of Rome] two . . . ladies of distinguished lineage . . . Miss Julia Metcalf and Miss Ruth Charlotte Dana.'[41] Earlier conversions were those of Mary Gardiner Greene in 1842, and Mrs. Charles Lyman (Susan Powell Warren) in 1839. In 1856, Mrs. Thomas Dwight (Mary Collins Warren), sister of Mrs. Lyman, joined the Roman Church. The historians of the Roman Catholic Diocese emphasized the conversion of Mrs. Susan (Powell Warren) Lyman by pointing out that she was severally 'the daughter of Dr. John Collins Warren, the foremost American surgeon of that time; the sister-in-law of Mayor Theodore Lyman, Jr., of Boston; the mother of Miss Florence Lyman, so prominent in Catholic circles in the later nineteenth century; and the aunt of the celebrated Catholic scientist, Dr. Thomas Dwight'.[42] Mary Gardiner Greene together with Rosamond Everett and her sister Ann Vincent Everett were received into the Roman Church in the early 1840s; these three young women did not come from families immediately connected with the Episcopal Church, but their social backgrounds were similar to the backgrounds of the Warren family and of the Dana family.[43] The appeal of the Roman Church and the

40. *JM*, 1872, pp. 132–159, report following p. 170.

41. Lord, Sexton, and Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (Boston, 1944, 3 vols.), II, 359. Ruth Charlotte Dana, sister of Richard H. Dana, Jr. (a founder of the Church of the Advent, Boston), was a member of St. Paul's, Boston, during the Rev. John S. Stone's rectorship, as was also Julia Metcalf, daughter of Judge Theron Metcalf (also, along with Dana, an original incorporator of the Church of the Advent).

42. *Hist. Archdioc. of Boston*, II, 358.

43. *Hist. Archdioc. of Boston*, II, 358–359. Mary Gardiner Greene was the daughter of

personality of Bishop Fenwick attracted these young, unmarried women to a life unlike anything they had previously known. The Episcopal Church did not further any more than any other church, an interest in the Roman Church, unless it did so by indirection i.e., by condemning Rome's strength, unity, and endurance.[44]

Many of the women converts to the Roman Church joined orders, such as the Sisters of Charity (more properly, Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul) with its headquarters at Emmitsburg, Maryland, or the Visitation Nuns with its headquarters at Georgetown, D.C. Conversions to the Roman Church and then to orders in the Church show the attractive aspect of the Roman Church for Episcopalian and other Protestant women; these conversions were colorful, even dramatic, though not widespread enough to be important to the Diocese of Massachusetts.[45]

The conversions of Episcopal priests to the Church of Rome, however, revealed the Roman Church as a body to which some Episcopal priests in the Diocese of Massachusetts were driven. The view of the Episcopal Church as the *via media*, as the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, traditional Church was opposed by Bishop Eastburn to the point where he 'suspended from the exercise of his clerical functions' the Rev. Oliver S. Prescott. Prescott did not yield, but

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(Peter) Nathaniel Greene (1797–1877), Postmaster of Boston, 1829–41 and 1845–49. He married Susannah Batchelder of Haverhill, Mass., daughter of the Baptist minister there, the Rev. William Batchelder. Nathaniel Greene moved to Boston about 1820, and with his brother Charles G. Greene started the (Boston) *Morning Post. D.A.B., Haverhill, Mass. Vital Statistics*, I, 32; II, 357. The Everett girls, daughters of Oliver Everett and his wife Mrs. Ann (Vincent) Gardner, were nieces of Edward Everett. Their uncle baptized them on 21 Oct. 1821 at the Church in Brattle Square, Boston. Edward Franklin Everett, *Descendants of Richard Everett of Dedham, Mass.*, (Boston, 1902), p. 120; *Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston . . . 1699–1872* (Boston, 1902), p. 221.

44. Ruth Charlotte Dana reported that the Rev. John Seely Stone, while rector of St. Paul's, Boston, spoke of the Roman Catholic Church thus: ' "The Catholic Church is so strong today, and it has triumphed over so much in the course of its history—not only external opposition, but more still, corruption from within—that it simply cannot be of human origin. It must therefore be the work of the devil." ' Walter George Smith and Helen Grace Smith, *Fidelis of the Cross, James Kent Stone* (New York and London, 1927 [1926]), p. 5.

45. Bishops Eastburn and Griswold attacked the Roman Church on the broad grounds of pagan superstition and unchristian 'Christianity'. *Hist. Archdioc. of Boston*, II, 358–359; *Official Catholic Year Book, 1948*, pp. 361, 387.

in order to be transferred from the Diocese of Massachusetts to that of Maryland, Bishop Eastburn required him to sign a certificate which 'a Court of Presbyters, duly constituted according to the Canons of this Diocese,' had drawn up.[46] Prescott's council was Richard H. Dana, Jr., who wrote to Prescott on 2 March 1852, 'My advice to you is not to sign it [the certificate] as long as the sky is blue.'[47] Prescott did sign it, however, not within the specified time of ten days, but sometime before May 1854. His yielding to the bishop appeared wise, as he could continue an uninterrupted service in the ministry, without taint or spot, in another diocese.

Preceding Prescott as assistant minister at the Advent in Boston was the Rev. Frederick William I. Pollard.[48] Pollard's first ministry in the diocese was at Trinity Church, Nantucket. Trinity Church, Nantucket, had the old two-decker pulpit and reading desk combined, which Trinity Church, Boston, had 'generously presented' to the young parish.[49] After Pollard took over, he rebuilt the double-decker into a reredos, a pulpit, and a reading desk, and then had some left over. He also put in an altar, not a table with ' "four honest legs." '[50] Pollard went to Nantucket in 1841, and remained till

46. The Rev. Oliver Sherman Prescott was ordained deacon by Bishop Brownell on 16 Sept. 1847. In 1850 he had been received by the Diocese of Massachusetts from North Carolina, and was 'officiating as an assistant minister in the Church of the Advent, Boston'. In North Carolina he had served as 'a missionary in Salisbury'. On 17 July 1850 the standing committee of the Diocese of Massachusetts 'presented [him] . . . to the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of this Diocese, as having been guilty of holding and inculcating certain doctrines which are not held, nor allowed by the . . . Church'. Prescott was tried in Nov. 1850. He did not appear but was represented by Richard H. Dana, Jr. The presentment was unanimously dismissed. In 1851 Prescott was again tried in July, again defended by Dana, but, though not deposed, was suspended until he signed a certificate of good conduct 'within ten days'. To maintain his clerical standing and obtain a transfer from the Diocese of Massachusetts, Prescott signed the certificate sometime before the May 1854 convention. Burgess, no. 1978, p. 35; *JM*, 1850, p. 28; *American Church Almanac, 1849*, p. 45; *JM*, 1851, pp. 34–35; *Ecclesiastical Court, Trial of Rev. O. S. Prescott* (New York, 1851); Dana MSS (Massachusetts Historical Society); *JM*, 1852, pp. 26–27; 1854, pp. 21–22; according to Whitaker's *Churchman's Almanac, 1905*, Prescott died 17 Nov. 1903, aged 79 years.

47. Dana MSS, letter from R. H. Dana, Jr., Boston, to the Rev. O. S. Prescott 2 March 1852; *JM*, 1854, pp. 21–22.

48. Pollard, a graduate of General Theological Seminary, was ordered deacon by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk 30 June 1839. Burgess, no. 1354.

49. *JED*, 1839, p. 10.

50. Presbyter Ignotus [William H. Van

1845, when the Church of the Advent called him for its assistant minister.[51] Illness obliged him to cease work in the spring of 1848, and shortly after Easter he resigned. Then, in Bishop Eastburn's annual address of 1853 he stated that 'The Rev. Frederick W. Pollard, having declared to me his renunciation of the ministry of our Church, has been displaced . . . and is now a member of the Church of Rome.'[52] Bishop Levi Silliman Ives, had made known, from Rome, in December 1852, that he purposed 'to resign his "Office of Bishop of North Carolina," and . . . was "determined to make his submission to the Catholic (meaning the Roman) Church." '[53] To Bishop Eastburn, Ives' deposition overshadowed Pollard's case. Yet his strictures on Ives applied equally to Pollard. Considering Pollard's and Ives' entry into 'the darkness and idolatry of the Church of Rome', Eastburn could sorrow and 'lament' for these men as individuals, but from his episcopal and diocesan viewpoint he could only say that 'the sooner they depart [from the Church], the better for those whom they leave'.[54] Conversions to the Roman Church, then, were relatively and numerically few. Historically

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Allen], 'Blue Monday Musings', *The Living Church,* LXXI, no. 15 (9 Aug. 1924), pp. 463–464. The phrase 'four honest legs' was quoted from Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio.

51. *JED*, 1841, p. 15; *JM*, 1846, p. 75. The report of the Rev. William Croswell, rector, stated that 'The assistance of the Rev. Mr. Pollard was secured, at that time [September 1845], and his duties have been discharged with exemplary fidelity.' *Ibid.*

52. Some six months after Pollard's resignation, the Rev. O. S. Prescott became assistant. *Parish of the Advent in the City of Boston, A History of One Hundred Years. 1844–1944* (Boston, 1944), p. 29; *JM*, 1853, p. 25; Burgess states that Pollard was deposed 9 Nov. 1852 (see Burgess, no. 1354). Pollard graduated from Union College in 1835, a member of Phi Beta Kappa; then he went to General Theological Seminary. Apparently his family had wealth, as he is 'believed' to have received no salary while at Nantucket. He died in 1871. *Catalogue of Union College, etc.* (Albany, 1884), p. 43; *The Living Church*, LXXI, no. 15 (9 Aug. 1924), p. 464. *The Phi Beta Kappa Directory 1776–1941* (New York, 1941), p. 1197.

53. W. S. Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1857–1883* (Boston, 1885, 2 vols.), II, 289.

54. *JM*, 1853, p. 25. In commenting on 'apostasy to Rome' by Episcopal clergy, a great Church historian wrote of the period 1783–1883, that 'But few of these [converts to the Roman Church] were born in the Church, and the greater number had entered our communion in adult years. In few cases have they carried with them any following. They have gone from us, for they were not of us, and they have ' "gone to their own place." ' Perry, *Episcopal Church*, II, 290. Of the numbers of clergy converts, Perry said that there had been 'perhaps fifty priests and deacons, who have sought rest and peace in submission to Rome'. Perry, *Episcopal Church*, II, 290.

they revealed the influence and winning personalities of Bishops Fenwick (1825–46), Fitzpatrick (1846–66), and Williams (1866–1907).[55] Also the conversions indicated, especially with Episcopalians who went into the life of a religious, that in the Diocese of Massachusetts at least, the concept of the Church as the *via media*, and a knowledge of what the Book of Common Prayer had been, was, and what it could become, were too narrowly interpreted, too little understood on the diocesan level. Bishop Eastburn alone by no means can be blamed for narrow vision in the diocese. The pervasive note of 'evangelical Protestantism' revealed itself in 'the hopes of quick conversion and imminent millennial regeneration'.[56] The Roman Church seemed to offer a sure and relatively quick means of salvation. Although it was virtual ostracism, at least socially, for an Episcopalian to join the Roman Church, for the Episcopalians who were aware of, and won by, an increasing attention to a more literal reading of the Book of Common Prayer and to the practice of a heightened ritualism, for these Episcopalians the Diocese of Massachusetts provided very little.[57]

The standing committee of the diocese, or at least a majority of it, supported Bishop Eastburn for two main reasons. Firstly, the long incumbency on the standing committee of the Revs. Vinton, Randall, and Mason, and the Messrs. William Appleton and Otis Daniell, meant that the kind of churchmanship preferred and preached in St. Paul's and Grace Churches, Boston, dominated the committee. The committee's views were much the same as the opinions expressed by Bishop Eastburn on the Tractarian Movement in 1849, and in the Prescott case in 1851.[58] Secondly, the

55. The dates denote years as bishop of Boston.

56. Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, *Commonwealth; a Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy: Massachusetts, 1774–1861* (New York, 1947), p. 203.

57. Converts such as the Rev. George Foxcroft Haskins (1806–72), ordained by Bishop Griswold in 1829 and probably deposed in 1839 before being received into the priesthood of the Roman Church in 1840, influenced younger men toward the Roman Church. Father Haskins, Harvard Class of 1826, apparently converted Joseph Coolidge Shaw (1821–51), and Edward Holker Welch (–1904), both of the Harvard Class of 1840. *Hist. Archdioc. of Boston*, II, 357. Neither Shaw nor Welch appear to have been Episcopalians.

58. *JM*, 1849, p. 24; 1851, 'Report of the Standing Committee', pp. 34–35.

standing committee truly represented the churchmanship of most churchmen and parishes in the diocese. In view of the congregational aspect of the parishes in the Diocese of Massachusetts, the standing committee did not oppose the bishop, as he was indispensable to the very life and functioning of the diocese; while parishes —the Church of the Advent in Boston, for example—which interpreted their form of worship in the Church differently from the bishop's or standing committee's form, could practice home rule and yet secure the visitations of a diocesan by appealing to the authority of the Church on the national level through the General Convention. Thus the Diocese of Massachusetts added members, parishes, and churches to 'its rolls'. The weak movement to Rome was not so much a setback to the diocese as it was an indication of the inadequate way in which young persons and adults learned about, and read, the Book of Common Prayer. The diocese added, of course, many more priests to its number who had grown up in other Protestant Churches and had been trained as ministers in these Churches, than it lost to Rome.[59]

59. In Bishop Eastburn's addresses to the diocesan annual conventions he cited frequently his ordination of a deacon or a priest who previously had been a Christian minister in some other Protestant Church. *JM, passim.*

CHAPTER XIV

DURING Bishop Eastburn's episcopate, the diocese grew from about forty parishes and missions in 1842 to some one hundred in 1872.[1] In the same number of years, 1840–70, the population of Massachusetts had not quite doubled.[2] The number of communicants of the Church in the diocese in 1841 was 3204, while in 1871 the number was 11,392.[3] The ratio of members of the Episcopal Church to population was about 1 to 230 in 1841, and about 1 to 120 in 1871.[4]

The expansion of the Diocese of Massachusetts during Eastburn's episcopate revealed the continuance of the organization of parishes and churches, 'for the little groups which had combined to build them . . .'.[5] Such parishes were St. Paul's, Brookline, and Emmanuel, Boston. Many parishes organized under Eastburn were a kind of localization, that is, the formation of a new parish in another part of the same city, or the organization of a parish in their place of residence by members of an Episcopal parish, who worshipped in a church in an adjacent town. Examples of this type of

1. Exact figures do not exist. All parishes or missions by no means sent yearly reports to the annual conventions of the diocese. Episcopal societies listed in the journals of the annual conventions as parishes not always were visited, even once by the bishop. At Spencer, for example, an Episcopal society, St. Sylvanus, had been organized in 1872. The missionary in charge, the Rev. B. F. Cooley, had come from Grace Church, Oxford, which had discontinued services because of cold weather and the death of its 'valued helper and friend, Mrs. George Hodges'. *JM*, 1873, p. 193; George F. Daniels, *History of the Town of Oxford, Massachusetts, with Genealogies, etc.* (Oxford, 1892), p. 542; *JM*, 1873, pp. 156–157.

2. 1840: 737,699; 1870: 1,457,351. *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 57.

3. *JGC*, 1841, p. 148; 1871, p. 442; *JM*, 1841, p. 58.

4. The national ratio of communicants to population was 1 to 308 in 1840, and 1 to 172 in 1870. *Living Church Annual, 1951*, p. 26.

5. W. S. Perry, *The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1857–1883* (Boston, 1885, 2 vols.), II, 504. These words were written by Phillips Brooks when rector of Trinity, Boston.

parish were found in Salem, Danvers, and Beverly. A few mill cities continued to induce the mill owners or managers to organize an Episcopal society for the mill workers. Lawrence, Millville (Blackstone), Haverhill, Milford, and Fiskdale represented parishes based on mill population. Then, the diocesan Board of Missions provided missionaries for many areas where there appeared to be a possibility of, or a desire for, an Episcopal society. Waltham and Cambridge (the parish of Grace Church) exemplified parishes in this field of diocesan endeavor, as did Nantucket and Hyde Park (Dorchester).

The growth of Boston and its near suburbs, i.e., what is now known as Greater Boston, accounted for new parishes. Brookline, Cambridge, Melrose, Somerville, and Malden all had organized Episcopal societies between 1850 and 1867.[6] The history of the diocese under Bishop Eastburn, however, was not alone a story of growth. A list drawn up by the Commissioner of Public Records and published in 1889 records seven Protestant Episcopal Churches which had become extinct.[7] In the list of 'failures' during Bishop Eastburn's thirty years of service to the diocese, twenty parishes were named by Eastburn's successor, Bishop Benjamin H. Paddock. In commenting on the list, Bishop Paddock said, 'What a record of money expended, labor laid out, Churches built! for most of them had a Church, and only here and there has a parish of later date sprung up to inherit the fragments and burden of failure.'[8] Grace Church, Boston, noted Bishop Paddock, was the saddest 'wreck among them all . . . strong, generous, crowded Grace Church of Dr. Mason and Bishop Clark'.[9] Grace Church, Boston, only survived the death of its rector, the Rev. Charles Mason, on 23 March 1862, two years. With Mason in 1847 had come the sale of pews to James A. Lawrence and Robert M. Mason, both mem-

6. The primary record for organization of parishes is in the journals of the annual conventions of the diocese.

7. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner, *Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns, and Counties* (Boston, 1889), pp. 145–146. Five of the seven parishes became extinct by 1866.

8. *The Commemorative Discourses . . . of the Centennial Year of the Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, A.D. 1885* (Boston, 1885), pp. 8, 119–120.

9. *Ibid.*

bers of other Episcopal parishes.[10] Grace Church was closed for a year following Mason's death. It reopened again in April 1863, under the ministrations of Samuel H. Hilliard, deacon; the parish was organized as a 'Free Church', which 'experiment . . . proved a success'.[11] With the termination of Hilliard's one-year engagement, the parish had only 'temporary supplies for public worship', and closed on 3 July 1864. In making the final report of the parish to the annual convention of 1865, the parish clerk, Samuel L. Buss, stated that 'The Wardens and Vestry . . . deemed it best, under the peculiar circumstances in which the Parish was placed . . .' to accept the offer of the Methodist Episcopal Society of North Russell Street, Boston, to purchase the property.[12] The clerk also stated that most of the former parishioners of Grace Church, '. . . it is believed, connected themselves with other Episcopal Parishes in the city'.[13]

The 'peculiar circumstances under which the Parish was placed' were, of course, first, the loss of their rector, Mr. Mason, with his following, of his brother Robert Means Mason, and of the Lawrence and Appleton families, and second, and more important, the comparative deterioration of the north side of Beacon Hill as a residential section, while the West End, or Back Bay section of Boston, developed into the better residential section.

As Grace Church parish became extinct, the parish of Emmanuel Church, Boston, had been organized, and plans 'for the building of a church in the neighborhood of Arlington Street' were underway.[14] As Saint Paul's Church had been founded largely on the agreement of Jarvis to become its first rector, so Emmanuel Church grew up about the figure of Frederic Dan Huntington, D.D., a former minister in the Unitarian Church, who had also served as Preacher to the University and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals at Har-

10. Grace Church MSS ('Building Committee, Treasurer's Ledger'). Lawrence paid $450 for his pew, and Mason $550.

11. Samuel H. Hilliard was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Eastburn on 19 Sept. 1863. He served one year at Grace Church, Boston, then at Beverly as a mission of St. Peter's, Salem. He was transferred to the Diocese of New York in 1865. *JM*, 1864, pp. 19, 67–70; 1865, pp. 14, 138; 1866, p. 32.

12. *JM*, 1865, pp. 73–74.

13. *JM*, 1865, p. 74.

14. *JM*, 1860, p. 24.

vard College. He was ordained to the deaconate by Bishop Eastburn in the Episcopal Church on 12 September 1860. He began his services as rector of Emmanuel Church a few days later on 16 September.[15] Emmanuel Church was admitted into union with the convention of 1862.[16] The rector's report to this convention gave the number of communicants as 'about 250'.[17] Again, as in the case of St. Paul's, Boston, Emmanuel parish grew up around the person of its first rector. The first meeting for organizing the parish took place at the home of Dr. William R. Lawrence, at 98 Beacon Street on 17 March 1860.[18] The sale of pews languished somewhat, but the parish finally rid itself of debt. On 24 April 1862 Bishop Eastburn consecrated the church and noted, 'The building which was designed by Alexander R. Esty, Esq., presents an interior chaste in ornament, and convenient in its arrangements. Its cost, together with that of the land on which it stands, was $62,000.'[19] Prior to the building of the church, services were held in a hired hall. The congregation of Emmanuel parish at its beginning was characterized by Huntington's daughter as made up of some members of St. Paul's parish who had 'an unsettled feeling' after their rector, Dr. A. H. Vinton, had resigned in 1858; it was also made up of 'those who were descendants of the old Standing Order of New England, Boston liberals, Evangelical believers, and the new generation who sought a more catholic observance of the Christian year, and a fuller expression of the spiritual beauty of the Church's services. . . .'[20] The site chosen reflected the desire of the parish for

15. *JM*, 1861, p. 15.

16. *JM*, 1862, p. 12. The lay delegates to this convention were Edward S. Rand, Benjamin S. Rotch, and Horace Gray, Jr.

17. *JM*, 1862, p. 60.

18. Arria S. Huntington, *Memoir and Letters of Frederic Dan Huntington* (Boston and New York, 1906), p. 214. Huntington's biographer in the *DAB*, Guy Emery Shipler, states that '. . . he organized' the parish (IX, 414).

19. *JM*, 1862, p. 26. The pews on the floor were priced from $175 to $900; in the gallery from $75 to $250. Sale of all pews would yield some $61,000. Broadside of auction of pews at Emmanuel Church, Boston, Dec. 16 and 17 [1861]. In a protest to Dr. W. R. Lawrence against renting pews, Huntington received assurance from Lawrence that ' "provision will be cheerfully made by sittings appropriate to such use, and also by seats hired and not used by those who have united with us. Nearly all have taken more seats than they require for their families." ' Huntington, *Memoir*, pp. 216–217.

20. Huntington, *Memoir*, p. 214.

a neighborhood 'likely to be surrounded by an influential population'.[21] In his fourth report to the annual convention, Huntington noted that, 'The Church has been enlarged by the erection of a transept with about two hundred sittings.'[22] In the fifth report the number of communicants was listed as 'about 500', a figure double that of four years earlier.[23]

Emmanuel Church was successful from its beginning. It was never a diocesan problem or responsibility. Reporting his consecration of the building 'to the service of Almighty God', Bishop Eastburn noted the plain fact, and omitted his often used phrases of 'pleasure of' or 'satisfaction in consecrating', which he indicated in his dedication of many smaller churches.[24] There was a certainty of success about the future of Emmanuel Church, which was reflected in the title itself, and in the terms which appeared on the broadside which gave the plan and price of the pews.[25] The edifice of Grace Church had not yet been sold to the Methodist Church, and while also aware of the perils through which St. Paul's had passed in its first decade, the founders of Emmanuel Church included in the deed of sale of the pews the following condition:

> That the said Church shall always be held and used for the Public Worship of Almighty God, according to the doctrines, usages, rites and ceremonies of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the United States of America, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever.[26]

21. Huntington, *Memoir*, p. 213. 'The site was on Newbury Street, just beyond [west of] the Public Garden, which at that time formed the western boundary of the improved land. Beyond, where had been the waters of the Back Bay, was a wilderness, with the gravel-trains bringing in the substratum for the new lands and the tall skeletons of the pile-driving machines outlined against the sky. Arlington Street was soon appropriated to stately private residences' (p. 218).

22. *JM*, 1865, p. 76.

23. *JM*, 1862, p. 60; 1866, p. 62. In the reports of Boston parishes for 1866, the Church of the Advent listed 591, Emmanuel was second with 'about 500', Trinity and St. Paul's each gave 400 as the number of communicants.

24. E.g., compare Eastburn's remarks in the case of St. John's, North Adams, and Grace Church, Oxford. *JM*, 1862, p. 18; 1866, p. 24.

25. In a letter to A.J., dated Cambridge, 1 May 1860, Huntington wrote, 'I think you will like the holy, significant, and musical *Name*, and see its fitness as emphasizing the great doctrine which the Spirit has revealed to me.' Huntington, *Memoir*, p. 215.

26. Broadside, Emmanuel Church sale of pews.

Huntington originally envisioned 'a free church' system for Emmanuel. The precedent of the Church of the Advent in abandoning rented pews had been successful for that particular parish. The group that built Emmanuel Church, however, planned a comparatively small church for its own use. The members of the group 'were not prepared for all that was involved . . .' in Huntington's original idea 'of a great People's Church'.[27] There were 'men enough . . . of means and zeal in the cause to make it go', though the rector's 'inclinations' favored a free church. Though in 1899 Bishop Lawrence stated that in its first decade 'Emmanuel Parish . . . [was] not large or rich', yet Huntington, preaching at the conclusion of his ministry there in 1869, stated that 'of late, my income, taken together has been more, I suppose, than that of any other minister in New England'.[28]

Several facts in the history of Emmanuel parish revealed what the Episcopal Church meant to a particular group in the 1860s and 1870s. Dissatisfaction with St. Paul's Church, after its rector, the Rev. A. H. Vinton, had gone to Philadelphia, and the need of a church in the 'extreme western end of Boston' where the residents formerly near St. Paul's and Trinity were about to build or move, provided the impetus for a new Episcopal society.[29] The persons of this new society possessed 'a great variety of characteristics, traditions and religious associations'.[30] The leadership of their first rector, Huntington, was a 'moulding and unifying influence' for their religious needs and desires. Socially and economically the group appeared to be quite closely a unit.[31] Yet this unity did not

27. Huntington, *Memoir*, p. 219. Robert M. Mason in a letter from Great Malvern, England, 8 Sept. 1864, to A. A. Lawrence, in regard to the closing and sale of Grace Church, Boston, said: 'The difficulty is there are not men enough connected with Grace Church of means and zeal in the cause to make it go. I have always been of opinion that as a free church it might succeed and frequently urged it upon Charles [Charles Mason, its rector, and the writer's late brother], [but] his inclinations were not that way . . .'. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. II, no. 97.

28. Frederic Dan Huntington, D.D., *The Conclusion of a Ministry in . . . Emmanuel Church: A Sermon, etc.* (Boston, 1869), p. 19.

29. Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., *Retrospect and Prospect. A Sermon Preached . . . March 5, 1899* [Boston, 1899], pp. 5–6.

30. Lawrence, *Retrospect*, p. 7.

31. The wardens for the first eight years of the parish were E. S. Rand, W. T. Lawrence, B. T. Reed, and E. R. Mudge. Lawrence was chiefly responsible for the build-

limit itself to the immediate parish of Emmanuel alone. Bishop Lawrence, forty years after the parish was organized, thus stated the influence of Emmanuel on the diocese, 'Little Parishes in the country villages and struggling missions in factory towns whom you have helped in years past, strong Parishes who owe their first existence to the generosity of laymen of this Parish, every Church in the Diocese feels a little larger and stronger in your strength.'[32]

When the wardens and vestry of Emmanuel reluctantly accepted the resignation of Huntington, as Bishop-elect of Central New York, they were successful in calling to the parish the former and beloved rector of St. Paul's, the Rev. A. H. Vinton.[33] The spiritual and social bonds on the congregational and lay level dictated Vinton's return, rather than the over-all needs of the diocese. In an age when Usher's Chronology could not be reconciled with the developing ideas of the evolution of life forms as conceived notably by Darwin, necessarily there must be churchmen, both cleric and lay, who could minister to the older generation as well as to the younger. Vinton, a believer in Usher's Chronology, was ready, wrote Bishop Lawrence, 'to recognize and publicly appreciate the rising influence of his young disciple. "If you can get more help from Brooks than here [Emmanuel], go to Brooks", were his words to the young men and women who wanted an interpretation of the faith in closer sympathy with their modes of thought.'[34]

From the history of the early days of Emmanuel parish, it might appear that no tradition or diocesan guidance marked the Church in Massachusetts in the last decade of Bishop Eastburn's episcopate. It is true that the founders of Emmanuel, as was the case with many of the founders of St. Paul's four decades earlier, were either not

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ing of a free church on the south side of the Boston and Providence R. R., the Chapel of the Good Shepherd; B. T. Reed provided $100,000 for the founding of the Episcopal Theological School, and E. R. Mudge provided a new church building for St. Stephen's, Lynn, as a memorial to his son and daughter. Huntington, *Conclusion*, pp. 5–6; Lawrence, *Retrospect*, pp. 7–8.

32. Lawrence, *Retrospect*, p. 3.

33. Vinton held a place with Boston churchmen much like that of the Rev., and later Bishop, Alonzo Potter. Vinton returned to Boston in October 1869, the same month and year that Phillips Brooks began his ministry at Trinity. Vinton was 62 years old at this time, while Brooks was 33.

34. Lawrence, *Retrospect*, p. 8.

Episcopalians or were first generation Episcopalians. The Church, however, in other dioceses and the Church as a whole in the United States did not represent an Anglican tradition, nor did it number communicants who were descendants of Church members for more than two or three generations, except in a few ancient parishes. In other words, the definition of the Episcopal Church in the middle of the nineteenth century as exemplified by Emmanuel Church, Boston, was matched in other parishes in other dioceses throughout the country. Summing up the Episcopal societies in Boston when her brother was Emmanuel's first rector, Arriar Huntington said:

> In those days its character was distinguished to a marked degree by a strict conservatism, a dignified respectability, an acknowledged exclusiveness. It stood with emphasis for what it represented, but there was little concern for church extension. The head of the diocese [Bishop Eastburn] adhered strongly to the tenets of doctrine which are distinctly Protestant. While his personal qualities made him decisive in administration and unfaltering in pulpit utterance, in leadership of men on the delicate and difficult lines of the episcopate his jurisdiction failed to leave a permanent imprint.[35]

Emmanuel parish in its origin felt no need of Eastburn's 'impress' other than by way of his confirmation of Frederic Dan Huntington, and then his ordinations as deacon and priest, and Eastburn's consecration of the church building.

Another, and earlier, ready-made parish was St. Paul's, Brookline. This Episcopal society in Brookline at once represented a parish with a ready-to-hand congregation, and a parish formed to bring the Episcopal Church into the midst of a growing country town near Boston. That there were substantial residents of Brookline from early in the nineteenth century is apparent from the statement of an historian of the town, who wrote, 'It was about 1800 that the merchants of Boston began to lead a movement of wealthy citizens to the rural suburb.'[36] The Episcopal Church, however, did not come until 1849. In that year, after worshipping for a while in the usual hall—in this instance, the Town Hall—St. Paul's

35. Huntington, *Memoir*, pp. 212–213.
36. John Gould Curtis, *History of the Town of Brookline, Massachusetts* (Boston and New York, 1933), p. 210.

Episcopal Church was founded, a church was built and dedicated on 23 December 1852. The parish historian has reported that 'The founders of St. Paul's were mainly successful Boston merchants who had recently built summer residences and permanent homes in Brookline—members of prominent families, leaders in professional or business life.'[37] In so far as the founders of St. Paul's were at the same time members of other Episcopal societies—e.g., Amos A. Lawrence was a member of St. Paul's, Boston—St. Paul's, Brookline, resembled a chapel of ease; but unlike a chapel of ease it was a self-sustaining society with pew holders. Three months before the organization of St. Paul's Church, Bishop Eastburn's assistant minister at Trinity, the Rev. Thomas M. Clark, had begun for the first time in Brookline '. . . services, according to the forms of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . .'.[38] Thus, Trinity lent an impetus to a movement which resulted in the creation of a strong parish midway in the nineteenth century. Bishop Eastburn's report of the consecration of St. Paul's Church acknowledged the contributions of two members of the parish, who together financed 'nearly all' of the cost of building the church.[39] When completed, St. Paul's Church in its surroundings was to one observer 'a pleasant reminder of lovely bits of English scenery . . .'.[40] Bishop Eastburn spoke his 'satisfaction' with St. Paul's, when he wrote in his annual address that 'A more complete and impressive church than this is not to be found in our country; and while it does honor to the distinguished architect [Richard Upjohn] who furnished the design, it is an ornament to the picturesque locality in which it is situated . . .'.[41] The stress on the rural beauty of the location and

37. Robert Payne Bigelow, 'Movements and Men in the Early History of St. Paul's Church in Brookline' (MS dated May 1951), p. 12. The first wardens were Augustus Aspinwall and Harrison Fay. Other early members were: William Aspinwall, Eliakim Littell (1797–1870), James Sullivan Amory (1809–84) and his son Harcourt, Thomas Parsons (1816–86), and A. A. Lawrence (1814–86). *Ibid.*

38. *JM*, 1850, p. 82. Cf. *supra*, pp. 180 ff.

39. The church, including organ and furnishings cost 'about $27,000'. The land was given by Augustus Aspinwall, who, together with Harrison Fay, contributed some $21,500 of the total cost of church and land. *JM*, 1853, p. 16; Harriet F. Woods, *Historical Sketches of Brookline, Mass.* (Boston, 1874), pp. 81–82.

40. Woods, *Brookline*, p. 81.

41. Charles Knowles Bolton, *Brookline, The History of a Favored Town* (Brookline, Mass., 1897), p. 142.

setting of St. Paul's showed that in the Diocese of Massachusetts an Episcopal church building was generally associated with a developing urban area, if not with an actual manufacturing or business district. In 1853 the former rector of St. Paul's, Boston, the Rev. John S. Stone, became rector of St. Paul's, Brookline.[42] Thus St. Paul's was one more illustration of the reliance of a large parish upon a minister known for his sermons and for his use and understanding of the Book of Common Prayer, which in the hands of a young and relatively unknown priest might cause dissension in the parish, if not diminish its support. The ministry and the theology of a priest as represented in the persons of Alonzo Potter, A. H. Vinton, and John S. Stone rested on social and family ties, not on the office of the priest, in both parish and diocese, alone.

As St. Paul's, Brookline, was rural, though actually an extension of Boston Episcopalianism, so were two parishes in Hampshire and Worcester Counties, Grace Church, Amherst, and St. Mark's, Southborough. In September 1864 a group of Amherst men met to organize an Episcopal society in their town. The rector of Emmanuel, Boston, F. D. Huntington, attended this meeting. While a student at Amherst, he had been one of only two Unitarians in the college.[43] After his shift from the Unitarian to the Episcopal Church, he took a marked interest in establishing an Episcopal society in the town of Amherst. Not only was he present at the September 1864 meeting, but 'it was largely owing to his efforts that the parish was formed. Being invited to give a name to the parish, he selected that of "Grace Church." '[44] Toward the salary of the first rector of Grace Church, the Rev. S. P. Parker, Huntington offered to pay $200 a year of the salary of $1200.[45] Although forty-one members signed an agreement 'to become members of an Episcopal parish, should one be formed', the society at Amherst built its church by funds contributed by 'many friends of our Church in this and other Dioceses'.[46] Bishop Eastburn 'performed the gratifying duty of

42. *JM*, 1853, p. 17.

43. *DAB*, IX, 413–414.

44. *The History of the Town of Amherst, Massachusetts, 1731–1896*, compiled and published by Carpenter and Morehouse (Amherst, 1896), p. 246.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *History of Amherst*, p. 246; *JM*, 1866, p. 110. In the report of the rector, the Rev. S. P. Parker, D.D., for 1866, he mentions

consecrating Grace Church, Amherst', on 17 July 1866.[47] In one of the rare instances where a cleric's wife is mentioned by name, Parker spoke of 'an elegant crimson cloth for the Communion Table, . . . the gift of the ladies of Trinity Church, Boston, through the kindness of Mrs. Eastburn'.[48] Grace Church, even as late as the year 1866, must be regarded as a pioneer effort by the Episcopal Church in a rural area, which endured. That it needed support beyond the limits of the diocese was certain. Parker stated in his first report that the parish

> . . . has compelled the respect, and, to a large extent, even the sympathy of a community, whose education and associations are alien. Its position, in the presence of two colleges, where it may reach the hearts and minds of the vast numbers of young men coming hither to be educated, in coming time, elevates it to a place of the foremost importance, among Church enterprises in our whole land.[49]

Into this 'alien community', which was Amherst, the lovely setting of the Connecticut valley and the railroad brought summer visitors.[50] As Christ Church, Cambridge, had concerned the diocese as a recruiting ground for lay and clerical members of the Episcopal Church among Harvard students, so Grace Church, Amherst, with the support of Huntington and friends of the Church

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an anonymous gift of $5000, a gift of $1800 by a New York family, and 'a subscription of $1000 from another friend, and numerous munificent offerings of other large-hearted Churchmen in Boston and elsewhere'. The rector stated that among the members of the parish itself '. . . there are none rich . . .'. 'A valuable Communion Service', noted Parker, 'formerly belonging to Grace Church, Boston, has been presented by its late members.' *Ibid.*

47. *JM*, 1867, p. 21.

48. *JM*, 1866, p. 110. This Mrs. Eastburn was Mary Jane Head, who married Bishop Eastburn in Trinity Church, Boston, 30 Jan. 1856. *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXVII, 111–112.

49. *JM*, 1866, pp. 110–111.

50. *History of Amherst*, p. 316. Amherst was on a feeder line running north from Palmer. The first passenger train ran into Amherst in May 1853. Josiah G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1855, 2 vols.), I, pt. II, p. 426. An Amherst guide said in 1891, 'In all New England there are few regions offering more delightful opportunities for riding and driving than that portion of the Connecticut Valley in which the town of Amherst lies. . . . It is like a vast park, through which one may wander for months without exhausting the natural attractions, and be more deeply impressed each day by the wonderful variety. Not a few are the visitors who come to Amherst . . .'. *The Handbook of Amherst, Massachusetts*, prepared and published by Frederick H. Hitchcock (Amherst, Mass., 1891), p. 33.

in the Dioceses of Massachusetts and New York, enlisted the help of many persons outside of Amherst in bringing Amherst and the agricultural college students the opportunity of attending Episcopal services.[51]

Similarly cold toward the Episcopal Church was Williams College. An English-born student at Williams College in his freshman year led a service of morning prayer on Christmas in 1853, but the college itself was antagonistic to the Episcopal Church.[52] To Professor Albert Hopkins of Williams College 'there was little difference between Episcopals and Roman Catholics'.[53] It was only in 1870 that a diocesan mission of St. John's Church, North Adams, was established at Williamstown. Help and financial support from summer visitors, as in the instance of Grace Church, Amherst, finally secured a church building for Williamstown in the early years of the episcopate of Bishop William Lawrence (1896).[54]

Worcester County had a notable, though small, rural Episcopal society at Southborough. A lay reader from St. Paul's Church, Hopkinton, led an Episcopal service in Southborough 'on a weekday summer evening in 1850', in the schoolhouse at Southville.[55] With financial help from outside the town, St. Mark's parish was organized on 26 December 1860. In July 1862 Joseph Burnett gave the society 'a lot in the center of the township, with the stipulation that the church to be built thereon should be free to all, with no distinction as to wealth, color, race, or station'.[56] The parish of

51. By 1868 Parker reported, 'Some twenty Students of Amherst College are regular worshippers and several are Communicants. Of these, one is a Candidate for the Ministry. Thirty or forty are present at the Evening Service. Several of the Students are teachers in the Sunday School.' *JM*, 1868, pp. 116–117.

52. Robert R. R. Brooks, editor, *Williamstown, The First Two Hundred Years, 1753–1953* (Williamstown [Mass.], 1953), pp. 183, 184. William Tatlock, Class of 1857, was the student. The place was Mrs. Starkweather's house on North Street.

53. Arthur Latham Perry, *Williamstown and Williams College* (published by the author, 1899), p. 561.

54. Bishop Lawrence consecrated St. John's Church 6 Oct. 1896. *JM*, 1897, p. 127. Bishop Eastburn 'made for the first time an official visit to Williamstown' on 16 Sept. 1870, where he confirmed nine persons. *JM*, 1871, p. 23.

55. Southville was a village of the township of Southborough. Hopkinton, in Middlesex County, is the next town due south of Southborough. Milford and Southborough are the two easternmost towns of Worcester County.

56. Albert Emerson Benson, *History of St. Mark's School* (privately printed, 1925), p. 5.

St. Mark's soon built a stone church from plans designed by Alexander R. Esty; the cost of land and building was $6700, 'defrayed by Mr. Burnett . . .'.[57] Bishop Eastburn consecrated this small church 'placed . . . in the midst of a rural population' on 16 June 1863. Through the efforts of members of St. Mark's Church, the Church of the Holy Trinity, Marlborough, the town next to Southborough on the north, was organized a score of years later.[58] Joseph Burnett was a vestryman of Holy Trinity, Marlborough, and also of St. Paul's, Hopkinton, and St. John's, Framingham.

From the time he was in his late twenties, Joseph Burnett took an active part in the support of Episcopal Churches in Massachusetts, and also in affairs of the diocese. He was a vestryman of the Church of the Advent, Boston, from 1849 to 1862, besides being a member of the corporation from 1850 to 1871.[59] He was a clerk for, and worked with, Theodore Metcalf in the latter's drug business in Boston from 1837 to 1850, when he established his own firm of manufacturing chemists under the name of the Joseph Burnett Company.[60] He built his estate, 'Deerfoot', in Southborough in 1850. Also, 'He was a pioneer in high-bred stock and was among the first importers [of Jersey cows] from the Channel Islands.'[61]

For many years Southborough was the home of Joseph Burnett and there he founded St. Mark's School. The reasons for Burnett's wishing to establish a church school are given in the *History of St. Mark's School* as follows:

> Mr. Burnett had sent his eldest son, Edward, to St. Paul's [Concord, N. H.]; and Dr. Coit, the Headmaster, suggested to him when he was entering another son, Harry, that as he had four boys it would be a good thing to start a church school in Massachusetts. Thus, the words of Dr. Coit and the success of St. Paul's undoubtedly suggested to Joseph Burnett the possi-

57. Benson, *St. Mark's*, p. 5; *JM*, 1864, p. 16.

58. Benson, *St. Mark's*, p. 5.

59. *Parish of the Advent in the City of Boston, A History of One Hundred Years, 1844–1944* (Boston, 1944), pp. 191, 187.

60. *N.E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XLIX (1895), 79. Theodore Metcalf was one of the 'original members' of the corporation of the Church of the Advent. *Advent History*, pp. 187, 8, 12. Burnett was the maker of a well-known vanilla extract. See [anon.,] *About Vanilla, 1850–1900 Anniversary* (published by the Joseph Burnett Company, Boston, 1900).

61. *N.E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XLIX (1895), 79.

bility of another school on the same plan; and his own large family of boys nearing the school age brought him to serious consideration of the matter as had been the case of Dr. Shattuck and St. Paul's.[62]

St. Mark's was primarily a private school. The Diocese of Massachsetts had no direct voice or responsibility in its management. The code of by-laws drawn up under the charter of the school, however, provided that the school's trustees must be communicants of the Episcopal Church, that the headmaster 'shall always be a Presbyter of the Church', and that the bishop of the diocese was 'ex-officio visitor of St. Mark's School', and he was to have recommendatory powers.[63] The diocese was to be kept informed about St. Mark's by the provision that 'An annual report of the state of the Institution was also to be sent to the Bishop to be laid by him before the Church.'[64] Like the relation of minister to congregation in most young Episcopal societies in the diocese, the relation of headmaster to trustees and school was shifting. There were five headmasters until the death of Burnett in 1894, two of whom were not presbyters of the diocese. The trustees recognized, however, that in giving the deed of property of St. Mark's School to them, Burnett had set a '. . . rare example of true Christian generosity'. The trustees rightly judged the effect of Burnett's gift by stating ' "that this Board of Trustees appreciates this magnanimous donation as of great importance to the Church, and through her teachings to the youth of the country." '[65] Joseph Burnett's service to the diocese also included his acting as a substitute deputy to General Convention for the years 1868 to 1870, and his representing St. Mark's

62. Benson, *St. Mark's*, p. 11. Burnett had twelve children, of whom seven were boys. His son, Waldo Burnett, became a priest in the Episcopal Church. A daughter, Ruth, became a Sister in the Roman Catholic Convent of the Sacred Heart, Albany. Burnett thus became allied with the group of the corporation members of the Church of the Advent who either joined the Roman Church, such as Theodore Metcalf and Dr. Salter, or had close relatives join as did R. H. Dana, Jr. *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, XLIX (1895), 79.

63. Benson, *St. Mark's*, p. 17. The committee which framed the bylaws had four members: two clerics, the Revs. John B. Kerfoot, and G. M. Randall, and two lawyers, Isaac Fletcher Redfield (1804–76), and Josiah Gardner Abbott (1814–91).

64. *Ibid.*

65. Benson, *St. Mark's*, pp. 16–17. The bylaw stating that the headmaster shall be a presbyter has been dropped and reenacted several times.

parish, Southborough, in the annual diocesan conventions as a lay delegate.[66]

Somewhat different from the rural parishes of Amherst and Southborough were the parishes established at water-power sites and mill towns where the Episcopal Church was established during Eastburn's last years as bishop, continuing a movement which started under Bishop Griswold. At Oxford in Worcester County, George Hodges and his first wife, Sarah Elizabeth Clark, demonstrated their interest in the Church as had Burnett in the Church at Southborough. Hodges' father had trained him in the textile industry, especially in the manufacture of flannels, at the latter's mill in North Andover.[67] In 1846 the younger Hodges bought the mills of the Oxford Woolen Company.[68] Hodges manufactured flannel here until his death in 1881. Grace Episcopal Church 'was built under his supervision and mainly at his expense'.[69] Bishop Eastburn consecrated Grace Church on 16 November 1865 and cited the 'noble liberality [of] . . . George Hodges, Esq.', who contributed nearly all of the $20,000 which the land and church cost.[70] Grace Church prospered only for a few years. Because of its location in a small town, the church building, which was of stone, and of a pseudo-Gothic architecture, won the praise of Worcester County through its press. Bishop Eastburn foretold that Grace Church would 'bring results of blessing through future generations, and through the ages of eternity . . . in the days of self-will, irreverence, and casting off of God's word'.[71] Mrs. George Hodges died in October 1872, a 'valued helper and friend' of the parish.

66. *JM*, 1868, p. 170; 1869, p. 191; 1870, p. 203.

67. George F. Daniels, *History of the Town of Oxford, Massachusetts with Genealogies, etc.* (Oxford, 1892), records the facts of Hodges' life (p. 542).

68. The Oxford Woolen Company was organized in 1826; its plant located on 'the southerly branch of Mill Brook', tributary of the French and Quinbaug Rivers, inaugurated power weaving at this site; it also convinced Samuel Slater of the practicability of power weaving in contrast to hand looms. Daniels, *Oxford*, p. 198.

69. Daniels, *Oxford*, p. 542.

70. *JM*, 1866, pp. 24–25. Episcopal services were held as early as July 1863 in Sanford's Hall. Bishop Eastburn visited this mission, then known as St. John's Church, on 7 April 1864. At that time there were 2 communicants and $45 'subscribed towards [the] church edifice . . .'. Daniels, *Oxford*, p. 81; *JM*, 1864, pp. 24–25, 121.

71. Daniels, *Oxford*, p. 94, quotes the *Worcester Spy*, of 17 Nov. 1865; *JM*, 1866, p. 25.

The report by the Rev. B. F. Cooley to the annual convention of 1873 announced the discontinuance of services due, in part, to the death of Mrs. Hodges.[72] It should also be noted that Grace Church was the sixth religious society to have a church in Oxford, a town of only 2669 inhabitants in 1870.[73] Unlike Burnett's part in founding St. Mark's Church, Southborough, Hodges' personal contribution to the Episcopal Church in Oxford was occasional rather than sustained.

In 1832 the town of Webster had been set off from the southern limits of Oxford, known as 'Oxford South Gore'. In this former district of Oxford, Samuel Slater, and later his sons, had built and managed woolen and cotton mills from 1812, using as power mill-sites along the French River.[74] In 1870 the population of Webster numbered 4763, nearly 2100 more than its parent town of Oxford.[75] The Rev. William Henry Brooks, D.D., rector of Grace Church, Oxford, had held Episcopal services in Webster as early as July 1869. An Episcopal society grew up by the name of the Church of the Reconciliation; the Rev. Mr. Brooks laid the cornerstone for the church on 18 July 1870, on a site 'given to it by William S. Slater, Esq.'.[76] Bishop Eastburn consecrated the Church of the Reconciliation on 3 January 1871.[77] All but $500 of the more than

72. *JM*, 1873, pp. 156–157. George Hodges, who lived until 1881, gave of his time, apart from his mills, largely to politics, both local and national, in the latter respect serving the Democratic party. Daniels, *Oxford*, p. 542.

73. The other five societies in order of establishment were Congregational, Universalist, Baptist, Methodist, Roman Catholic. Roman Catholic services were held regularly from 1858. Daniels, *Oxford*, pp. 47–49 (population figures are on p. 269).

74. *History of Worcester County, Mass.* (Boston, 1879, 2 vols.), II, 470–471.

75. *Manual for . . . the General Court* (Mass., 1880), p. 178.

76. *JM*, 1871, pp. 147–148. The lot was valued at $1200. The 'free-will offering' toward the church building fund totaled $4619.10. William S. Slater had married Katherine Cradock Hodges, a daughter of George Hodges of Oxford.

77. *JM*, 1871, pp. 31, 147–148. The rector of the Church of the Reconciliation was the Rev. William H. Brooks, recently rector of Grace Church, Oxford. Brooks reported a gift of a 'Holy Table' to the church by Mrs. Horatio Belson Slater, a daughter-in-law of Samuel Slater. Various members of the Slater family, in towns where it had mills, were closely identified with the Episcopal Church, from the time of Samuel Slater (1768–1835) who was senior warden of St. Paul's Church, Pawtucket, R. I., from 1815 until 1832. See Rev. Edward D. Randall, Associate Rector, *A Discourse Commemorative of the Fiftieth Anniversary of . . . St. Paul's Church, Pawtucket, R. I. . . . 1867* (Pawtucket, 1868), *passim*, esp. pp. 19–20.

$10,000 cost of the building and furnishings was raised within the parish.[78] As the Church of the Reconciliation grew, so Grace Church declined. Finally, the rector at Webster, where he held regular services, held occasional services at Oxford, where the church was open but seldom.

In the instance of the parishes at Oxford and Webster, the introduction of Episcopal societies followed a definite pattern. The basis of the pattern was a reasonable certainty of year-round water power in a relatively poor agricultural district which would supply labor both for mills and for hand operations at home on the farms. At these sites manufacturers started woolen and cotton mills, or both. The owners or managers of the mills were often either emigrants from England, or descendants of emigrants, or persons who had a marked preference for the Episcopal Church often influenced by marriage or close association with Episcopalians. Finally, the mill hands, especially in the years before the Civil War, might prefer the partially familiar Episcopal form of worship. The Roman Catholic Church, which came to include the majority of mill workers, usually followed the Episcopal societies by a few years, in establishing parishes before the Civil War, but preceded them after the Civil War, as in the case of Oxford and Webster.[79]

Other mill or factory centers where Episcopal societies were organized and were financially strong enough to build and pay for a place of worship were at Lawrence, Worcester, Cabotville, Pawtucket, Millville, Milford, Framingham, and Haverhill. Bishop Eastburn consecrated churches in each of these towns.

At a site on the Merrimack River with water-power potential, the Essex Corporation bought the power rights and developed a town from about equal areas of Methuen and Andover. The town was

78. The cost of the church, 'including furniture, gas fixtures, carpet, furnace, etc. was $10,073.23'. *JM*, 1871, p. 148.

79. Where there was any considerable number of Roman Catholic laborers employed, as in the digging of a canal, a dam, or a railroad, or in any kind of construction, such laborers being migratory, Roman Catholic services were probably held at millsites before those of any other Church. Such services, however, did not result in the organizing of Roman Catholic parishes until a more permanent group of laborers settled near the mill or factory. Webster had a Roman Catholic parish as early as 1844, and a church building by 1853. *Worcester County*, II, 462.

named Lawrence and incorporated in April 1847.[80] Here in this manufacturing place of 'sudden rise', seaward of Lowell some eight miles, Bishop Eastburn consecrated Grace Church, 19 November 1846. 'Samuel Lawrence, Esq., of Lowell . . . contributed nearly all [$1000 of a total of $1400] that was needed for the structure', while the parishes of St. Anne's, Lowell, and St. Paul's, Grace, and Trinity, Boston, furnished the interior of the church.[81] Five and a half years later, on 5 May 1852, Eastburn consecrated a 'new and substantial stone edifice', for Grace Church, costing some $9000.[82] As the Rev. Theodore Edson had been the great strength and chief figure in the early days of St. Anne's, Lowell, so the Rev. George Packard, rector of Grace Church from its founding until his death in 1876, a period of thirty years, was the force which made Grace Church a notable parish in the diocese. Bishop Eastburn visited (not for consecration) another Episcopal society in Lawrence, St. John's, on 27 May 1866. In reporting his first visit, he noted that this group included 'numerous families from England who had been reared in our Communion'.[83]

In the industrial centers of Worcester and Cabotville, parishes had fulfilled their financial obligation of paying in full for church buildings. Thus Bishop Eastburn consecrated All Saints', Worcester, on 1 October 1847, which Bishop Griswold had said, after his visit to Worcester in 1834, was one of the sites 'where we ought long since to have had a Church well established'. Bishop Eastburn noted that the 'long delayed' consecration, was at last made possi-

80. The group which purchased the water-power rights included three Lawrences: Abbott, William, and Samuel. The first directors of the Essex Corp. were Abbott Lawrence (also president), Nathan Appleton, Patrick T. Jackson, John A. Lowell, Ignatius Sargent, William Sturgis, and Charles S. Storrow. D. Hamilton Hurd, compiler, *History of Essex County Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, 1888 [1887], 2 vols.), I, 861, 866–867; *Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities and Towns in Massachusetts*, prepared by Frederic W. Cook ([Boston,] 1948), p. 38. See *supra*, pp. 151–153.

81. *JM*, 1847, pp. 11, 75; Rev. A. H. Amory, *Anniversary Sermon . . . October 11, 1896* (Cambridge, 1896), p. 5.

82. The Essex Corp. had given a lot of land to Grace Church parish with the condition that the parish should build a brick or stone church upon it within five years. The condition was met, half by parishioners, half with the help of outsiders. The population of Lawrence was 3577 in 1847, and was 10,500 in 1852. Hurd, *Essex County*, I, 905, 876; *JM*, 1852, pp. 23–24.

83. *JM*, 1867, pp. 17–18.

ble 'partly by the exertions of several individuals [in the parish] . . . and partly by assistance from Boston'.[84] Cabotville, a village of North Springfield, which became the town of Chicopee in April 1848, received the Episcopal Church from the missionary efforts of Henry W. Lee, rector of Christ Church, Springfield. Grace Church, Cabotville, was consecrated by Bishop Eastburn on 24 May 1848. Its rector, the Rev. M. A. Johnson, reported thirty-four communicants in 1867; this was the last report from Chicopee received by the annual convention during the episcopacy of Eastburn.[85]

Still other industrial centers where Episcopal societies were able to request a visit of the diocesan for the form of consecration were at Pawtucket, Millville, and Milford. These three villages grew up on water-power sites in the Blackstone River valley, and its tributary rivers, especially the Mill River at Milford.

Pawtucket is, of course, now in the Diocese of Rhode Island.[86] Important, however, was Bishop Eastburn's visit for the consecration of Trinity Church, 12 July 1853, as Trinity's parish was an offshoot of St. Paul's Church on the west bank of the Blackstone River. St. Paul's Church and parish had Samuel Slater and David Wilkinson as its principal benefactors. From the combination of their ability and accomplishments in the textile industry with their

84. *JM*, 1848, p. 14; *JED*, 1836, p. 11.

85. *JM*, 1846, pp. 97–98; 1848, pp. 22–23; 1868, p. 111. Grace Church could not support itself financially or in attendance at its services and consequently was closed for several years at a time. This failure, according to its occasional rectors and ministers, was because of other previously established denominations, combined with the effects of 'the blasting mildew of Arianism, Pantheism and Infidelity', and of migratory parishioners. *JM*, 1850, pp. 93–94; 1855, pp. 81–82.

86. The boundary between Massachusetts and Rhode Island at the northwestern portion of Bristol County, Massachusetts, was settled only in 1861, when Massachusetts ceded the portion of the town of Pawtucket east of the Blackstone River to Rhode Island. Before 1861 Pawtucket had existed as a town only from 28 Feb. 1828. Prior to 1828 the portion of Pawtucket west of the Blackstone was regarded as in Rhode Island, and was named in the diocesan journals of Rhode Island as 'Pawtucket' or 'North Providence'. St. Paul's Church, founded in 1815, was located west of the Blackstone. Trinity Church, built on the east bank of the Blackstone, and hence in the area claimed by Massachusetts, naturally was admitted into union with the diocese where it remained until 1861. Rev. Massena Goodrich, *Historical Sketch of the Town of Pawtucket* (Pawtucket, 1876), pp. 13–15, 166 (St. Paul's Church), 179 (Trinity Church); Randall, *St. Paul's Church, Pawtucket, passim*; *JRI*, 1836, pp. 3, 4, 32; 1835, p. 35; *JM*, 1854, p. 11. See also H. F. Walling, 'Map of the County of Bristol, Massachusetts, 1858'.

sustained interest in, and financial help to, the Episcopal Church, the Diocese of Massachusetts owed the foundation and growth of member parishes in the Blackstone valley region, and other parishes in Worcester County, such as Webster. With the blessing of St. Paul's, a group of its parishioners organized Trinity parish, and built and paid for a church in the then Massachusetts area of Pawtucket. The cost of land and building totaled 'about $7500 of which $1100 were contributed in Boston and other places, and the rest by the parishioners themselves'. Eastburn mentioned the consecration as attended by 'many clergymen from the neighboring Diocese of Rhode Island', as was the case with many church services in Bristol County.[87]

Again on the Massachusetts-Rhode Island boundary, at the village of Millville, located on a water-power site in the town of Blackstone—itself established as an incorporated town from part of Mendon in 1845—Bishop Eastburn consecrated St. John's Church, 7 December 1854, the only consecration in the diocesan year 1854–55. Millville had water-power and mill privileges 'among the best' in the state, but its manufacturing prosperity did not match its power resources because of 'failures and fires'.[88] One mill owner, however, Edward S. Hall, contributed some $6000 in 1854 toward liquidating a $10,000 debt of St. John's, thus enabling the church to be consecrated. Bishop Eastburn cited Hall's gift specifically, because of his belief in 'the beneficial effect of such examples upon others'.[89] It is also possible that Eastburn wished to point up the fact that five years went by between the organization (14 May 1849) of St. John's parish and the consecration of its church; while in the case of St. Paul's Roman Catholic society, founded in 1850, Bishop Fitzpatrick dedicated its church in 1852. Eastburn, naturally, did not mention the fact that E. S. and C. E. Hall became mill owners following a failure of a prior owner in 1854. In 1871 the Hall privilege itself was taken over by A. T. Stewart of New York, through foreclosure of a mortgage.[90] The Rt. Rev. John Williams, Bishop-

87. Randall, *St. Paul's Church, Pawtucket*, p. 11; *JM*, 1854, p. 11.

88. *JM*, 1855, pp. 15–16; *Worcester County*, I, 286.

89. *JM*, 1855, pp. 15–16.

90. *Worcester County*, I, 283–286. A Roman Catholic Mass was offered in Millville as early as 1834.

Coadjutor of Connecticut, and clergy from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts at this service of consecration brought 'great gratification' and 'great joy' to the heart of Bishop Eastburn. The bishop's pleasure was topped by the fact that Upjohn had been the architect for the 'beautiful and substantial stone edifice', and that the church contained 'an organ of superior quality of Mr. Hook's manufacture'.[91]

More restrained was Bishop Eastburn's gratitude, and simpler the building which he consecrated as Trinity Church, Milford, on 21 March 1871. A seven-year period of attempts to raise money for a church ended successfully under the rector, the Rev. Reginald Heber Howe, in 1871. Howe himself had transferred from the Diocese of Rhode Island. As in the instance of Millville and Pawtucket, clergy from the neighboring Diocese of Rhode Island attended the consecration held 21 March 1871.[92] The name of no single benefactor appeared in the early history of Trinity. About half the debt of $3000 paid up by Howe's efforts came from Boston. Parishioners and residents of Milford contributed some $7500 in all toward the cost of land and building. Although Milford, primarily a boot and shoe manufacturing town, had a population of 9102 in 1865, and 9890 in 1870,[93] an Episcopal society was organized after the Methodists, Universalists, and Roman Catholics. That an Episcopal society would succeed at all was due, perhaps, to its very weakness. Milford's original Congregational Church was financially strong in 1864, as an unsigned report to the annual diocesan convention of 1864 showed:

> This new Parish [Trinity] appeals strongly to the benevolent, as it so happens that the mass of the wealth of the town is collected together into the original congregation, and the rest are more or less feeble—and yet doubtless the Episcopal Church will be well sustained, as soon as it can get a foothold and get the appliances of the Church.[94]

91. *JM*, 1855, pp. 15–16.

92. *JM*, 1871, p. 32.

93. *Manual for . . . the General Court*, [Mass.,] 1866, p. 120; 1871, p. 168.

94. Odin Ballou, *History of the Town of Milford, etc.* (Boston, 1882), pp. 348–350, 230–260 (religious history); *JM*, 1864, p. 122. Ballou gives the cost of Trinity as $9000 in *History of Milford*, p. 255, and as $12,000 in his 'History of Milford' in *Worcester County*, II, 76; the first figure was furnished him by Trinity's senior warden, Mr. Charles Dove.

Ballou, himself a Universalist minister and founder of Hopedale Community, spoke of the founders of Trinity Church as 'pillars [who] are persons of weight, culture, and taste, and their less distinguished associates are people of reputable moral worth'.[95] Such a statement could also be made of most church societies. He went on to state that 'Permanence and prosperity are the probable destiny of this [Trinity] society'.[96] The parish was destined to endure, but not to prosper. The pattern of success, not mere survival, rested upon several elements or combination of elements illustrated in some of the parishes, the brief histories of which have been related above. A benefactor who could pay for a stone (or brick) church and whose descendants maintained an interest in the parish; a first, or at least an early, rector whose service lasted upwards of a generation; a large city whose population elements usually included a few influential Protestant individuals; a town which became a resort for wealthy city dwellers, or which had a well-known educational establishment; a mill or factory site of which the owners or managers favored the Episcopal form of worship, or where the labor supply was not strange to the Episcopal Church—these major factors, and, of course, other minor factors, often resulted in a 'permanent and prosperous' Episcopal Church and parish.

No matter how small Episcopal societies may have been in small towns, their ministers were often active, though not always successful, in demonstrating the Episcopal form of worship in places where it was not known. Thus to Milford from Framingham had gone the Rev. Reese F. Alsop, rector of St. John's Church in the latter town as early as 17 May 1863.[97] St. John's, Framingham, had been 'duly organized' in December 1860. The wardens were James W. Brown and Alexander R. Esty.[98] Esty was the architect of the

95. Ballou, 'Milford', *Worcester County*, II, 76.

96. *Ibid.*

97. Ballou, *Milford*, p. 255. Ballou states that Episcopal services 'were first held here [Milford] in Irving Hall', on this date. However, for Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, 'where two or three are gathered together' there may well have been a 'first' service never recorded, or forgotten.

98. James W. Brown (1813–92), a native of Framingham, was a teacher, superintendent of schools, lawyer, and judge. Alexander Rice Esty (1826–81) was the son of a Framingham carpenter, Dexter Esty. A. R. Esty studied architecture un-

church which Bishop Eastburn consecrated on 18 June 1864.[99] In fact, a large number of churches consecrated by Eastburn were built from plans drawn by the firms of A. R. Esty, or Richard Upjohn of New York. Framingham revealed the slow but steady growth of a community, after the War of 1812, unlike the sudden rise of towns such as Lowell. At the time of the War of 1812, wrote Temple, 'Extensive manufacturing establishments were started for almost every sort of merchandise.'[100] The population increased only some 3000 in the years 1810 to 1865, during which years the cotton and woolen mills began operation in Saxonville, and the carpet factory and paper mills developed, the former near Saxonville, the latter in the then (1817) southwestern corner of Framingham, now (since 1846), a part of Ashland.[101] Six or seven religious societies, including a Roman Catholic group organized in 1845, ministered to the town of Framingham. The Saxonville Religious Society, established near the mills in 1827, served the religious needs of the mill workers, as mentioned above (p. 73). At Framingham Center a village had grown up around the activities connected with the half-way stopping place on the Worcester turnpike during its quarter-century of existence.[102] On Bare Hill at Framingham Center a group of local men decided to build an Episcopal church. In the original group were Brown and Esty. Also there were two lawyers, Charles R. Train (1817–85) and Theodore C. Hurd (1837–1911), and George Eastwood (ca. 1809–1886).[103]

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der Richard Bond and Gridley J. F. Bryant. Esty designed many public buildings, superintended construction of the new (1876) Boston Post Office, and planned several Episcopal churches. J. H. Temple, *History of Framingham, Massachusetts . . . 1640–1880, With a Genealogical Record* (published by the Town, 1887), pp. 487, 542.

99. *JM*, 1865, p. 15.

100. *History of Middlesex County* (1890), III, 645.

101. *Middlesex County*, III, 645–646. The Rev. Josiah H. Temple's 'Framingham', in *Middlesex County* is more complete than his longer work on Framingham, though the latter has a genealogy.

102. Temple, *Framingham*, p. 353.

103. Eastwood was born in England. He lived in the Saxonville area of Framingham. He died 26 Dec. 1886. Train's father and brother were Baptist ministers; his part in organizing an Episcopal society appears to have been the result of a deliberate decision. Hurd's father, William, was probably a member of St. Mary's parish at Newton Lower Falls. Brown, a lawyer and physician, and Esty, an architect, seem to have inclined toward the Episcopal Church because of their business and professional

The parish organized by this group had built and paid the debt on a church building by June 1863. A. R. Esty was, naturally, the architect. When Bishop Eastburn consecrated 'to the service of God St. John's Church', on 14 June 1864, there were sixty-six communicants.[104] There also had been 'removals', and were to be more removals as Brown, Train, and Esty all removed to Boston. From the neighboring town west of Framingham, Southborough, came the guidance of Joseph Burnett, who served as a vestryman on St. John's vestry.[105] The parish reported for 1872–73 only sixty communicants.[106] St. John's, Framingham, was an illustration of an Episcopal society that had no real hold on the community in which it was located.

In still another mill town, Haverhill, a few miles above Amesbury and below Lawrence, on the Merrimack, an Episcopal society appeared. As in the case of many towns in Essex County a definite awareness of the services of the Episcopal Church was, in Haverhill, an inheritance from pre-Revolutionary times. This semi-familiarity came by way of the three venerable churches in Marblehead, Salem, and Newbury (now Newburyport), and from itinerant missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[107] It was not until October 1855, however, that a parish was organized.[108] The Rev. George Packard, rector of Grace Church, Lawrence, led three services in one day at the Unitarian Church, borrowed for the Episcopal society, at Haverhill. Packard stirred up a lively interest, which the Board of Missions matched by paying the salary of a missionary, the Rev. W. Colvin Brown. This society, known as Trinity

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associates. Temple, *Framingham*, pp. 424–430, 536, 605 (Hurd), 725, 759; *Vital Records of Newton, Massachusetts, to the year 1850* (Boston, 1905), pp. 105, 314.

104. *JM*, 1865, pp. 15, 101.

105. Benson, *St. Mark's*, p. 10.

106. *JM*, 1873, p. 119.

107. The Rev. William S. Perry, M.A., *An Historical Sketch of the Church Missionary Association of the Eastern District of the Diocese of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1859), pp. 29–33; George Wingate Chase, *The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, From its First Settlement, in 1640, to the Year 1860* (Haverhill, published by the author, 1861), pp. 608–609.

108. Charles Wingate (1815–89) and B. R. Downes of Bradford arranged Packard's visit to Haverhill. Chase, *Haverhill*, pp. 609–610. The diocesan Board of Missions contributed $1000 for the missionary, the Rev. W. Colvin Brown. *JM*, 1856, pp. 30–31; 1857, pp. 33–34; 1858, p. 38; 1890, pp. 95–96.

parish, built a church costing some $6500. Of this amount about $5000 came from persons in Haverhill, while the remainder was given by friends in Boston, Lowell, Waltham, Andover, and Lawrence within the diocese, and by 'persons residing in Philadelphia'.[109] Taking part in the consecration ceremonies performed by Bishop Eastburn on 7 January 1857 was a 'considerable number of the clergy, constituting the Eastern District Church Missionary Association'.[110] To this association, rather than to any one individual, goes the credit for the establishment of Trinity parish, Haverhill. From the diary of the Rev. George Leeds of St. Peter's Church, Salem, comes another rare reference to the bishop's wife. Wrote Leeds on 6 January 1857, the eve of the consecration: 'In the evening preached in Trinity Ch, Haverhill. . . . Am guest of Mrs. Merrill in H[averhill] at whose hospitable quarters the Bishop & Mrs. Eastburn are also entertained.'[111]

109. Chase, *Haverhill*, p. 610; *JM*, 1857, p. 22.

110. *JM*, 1857, p. 21.

111. The Rev. George Leeds, 'Diary', *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XC (Apr., 1954), p. 161. In an entry for the following day, 7 Jan., Leeds wrote: 'A noble band of intellig[en]t young men constit[ut]e the vestry, headed by Mr. Ch[arles] Wingate as Senior Warden . . .'. The population of Haverhill in 1855 was nearly 8000, while in 1860 it was about 10,000. *Manual for . . . General Court* [*Mass.*], 1861, p. 115; 1862, p. 115. The organization of Trinity parish followed the gathering of two Baptist societies, a Universalist society, a Methodist Episcopal society, and of a Roman Catholic society which built and, on 4 July 1852, dedicated a church. Chase, *Haverhill*, pp. 584–586, 594, 595, 601, 607–608.

CHAPTER XV

AN outright gift of money by one or two individuals for a church building, including the price of the land on which it stood, received the attention which was its due by Bishop Eastburn in his annual reports to the diocese and by local historians who generally include an 'ecclesiastical history' in their work. To cite one or two names, lay or clerical, or both, makes for simplicity and memorability in recording the origin of a parish or the consecration of a church. The furnishing of a church, that is, the vessels used for the sacrament of Holy Communion, candlesticks, a font, a lectern and Bible, even an organ, came usually from other individuals or other parishes which contributed these furnishings by way of their women's organizations within those parishes. As the furnishings, outside of an organ, were only a fraction of the cost of the building, the names of the individual givers were not reported on the diocesan level, but were usually known to the parish itself. Gifts of vestments of any kind or altar cloths of different colors came from the women of other parishes, as the members of a newly established Episcopal society were rarely aware of the need or use of such articles. Less dramatic and memorable to report, but of no less importance, was the work of the Board of Missions in furthering the organization of new parishes, and of aiding missions and older needy parishes. Haverhill and Framingham represent but two in an annual list of a score or more parishes or missions which received amounts varying from $50 to $400. The Board of Missions appropriated in three typical years, 1844, 1854, and 1864, funds to missions or parishes in thirteen out of fourteen counties of Massachusetts.[1]

1. The one county which contained no mission or parish to be helped by the work of the board was Dukes County. Wood's Hole (Falmouth), Church of the Messiah, was mentioned in the board's report for 1854, but payment of money was not re-

The work of the Board of Missions was thus apparently widespread. Yet many clergymen in the diocese felt that it was too local in its ideas and interests, that it was too selective in its choice of Episcopal societies which it helped. The Rev. William Stevens Perry wrote in 1859 that 'The Board [had] thus degenerated into an outward mechanism, holding indeed the purse strings of the Church's alms, but with neither the heart to feel the wants of the more distant stations, nor the power to awaken or sustain in others the interest so needed for successful missionary effort.'[2] Perry pleaded for home rule for diocesan missions. The case for a centralized missionary agency, as was the Board of Missions, with its headquarters at Boston, was a strong one. No one could deny that the financial strength and resources of the diocese centered in Boston. The board stated that its main reasons for existence were 'for the sake of imparting greater unity to the operations of the Board, as well as of securing more accurate knowledge of whatever is transpiring in this [the diocesan] department of the missionary field. . . '.[3] The home rule advocates in the convention of 1859 gained a point which became the Canon of 1859. This canon gave parochial representation on the board to one layman from every parish in the diocese, said parish 'having within the year preceding contributed at least fifty dollars to the funds of the Board . . .'.[4] Neither complete home rule nor absolute diocesan centralization emerged from the discussions in the annual conventions; rather was it a compromise for both parties.

Bishop Eastburn's forthright gratitude, expressed in his annual addresses to the diocese, for the large financial gifts of Joseph Bur-

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corded until the next year. *JM*, 1844, p. 37; 1854, p. 35; 1855, p. 28; 1864, pp. 44–45.

2. The Rev. William S. Perry, *An Historical Sketch of the Church Missionary Association of the Eastern District of the Diocese of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1859), p. 21.

3. *JM*, 1861, p. 40.

4. *JM*, 1859, p. 118. This Canon of 1859 was amended in 1860; it was set aside by the Canon of 1866, which was in turn repealed by the Canon of 1869. This Canon of 1869 stood at the time of Bishop Eastburn's death. Under this last canon the work of the Board of Missions (itself replaced by the Missionary Executive Committee at the annual convention in 1866) was turned over to the Massachusetts Church Missionary Society, 'and all District and other associations for the furtherance of the Missionary work of the Diocese . . .'. *JM*, 1869, p. 173; for the other canons see *JM*, years cited.

nett, Henry Clapp, Edward S. Hall, George Hodges and others for new church buildings, might indicate his preference for a unified missionary agency such as the Board of Missions. Yet in February 1864 the bishop 'staggered' the board by announcing 'that he could no longer recommend the Board to the sympathy and pecuniary support of the people and Parishes, even for the payment of the salaries of the present Missionaries, for the reason that his personal preference is now given to another and extra-Conventional Missionary Organization'.[5] The bishop's real allegiance was not with either a centralized or a home-rule missionary organization. Rather did he adhere to missionaries who were 'tied down, in our prescribed services, to that simple truth of Christ Crucified, which is the one way of salvation, and the only source of abiding peace and joy'.[6] Any missionary or any mission the congregation of which did not insist on the preaching of evangelical doctrine 'as distinguished from mere ceremonialism', would have received no help or encouragement from the bishop.[7] The assertion of his personal feelings and the narrowness of his viewpoint prevented the bishop from composing the many difficulties in the mission affairs within the diocese.

Historically considered, the complicated and tangled subject of diocesan missions in regard to helping old parishes or organizing new ones brought into the open, at least, some basic facts. First there was the obvious and blunt statement of the Board of Missions itself: 'There are many points in this Diocese in which our Church would meet a cordial reception, if only the men and the means were forthcoming. There are scattered families belonging to our Communion in many of the larger towns of the Commonwealth, in which, as yet, no Episcopal services have been held.'[8] Then the chronic, though healthy, shortage of funds made necessary a selec-

5. *JM*, 1864, pp. 45–46. Compare Eastburn's remark in 1850: 'Our existing establishment of a Board of Missions . . . has commended itself as a good and happy system.' *JM*, 1850, p. 31.

6. *JM*, 1860, p. 26.

7. *JM*, 1860, p. 27. Eastburn went on to say that everything formed in the heart 'as the means of grace and the hope of glory', save Our Lord, was but 'sand'. To some churchmen this statement would deny a belief in the 'Holy Catholic Church'.

8. *JM*, 1859, p. 33.

tion of what missions and what parishes were to receive help and what new geographical areas were to be searched out. Selection resulted oftentimes in a difference of opinion between the advocates of a station selected and the advocates of one rejected. That these differences of opinion rested on varying conceptions of the Church (except in the case of the bishop and a few clergymen), that is, evangelical or ritualistic, Low or High Church, was of no account. The differences originated from a clash of personalities, from personal prejudices, from a divergence of social groups. This clash and divergence had existed in the diocese at least from the early days of St. Paul's, Boston; it was becoming more marked under Bishop Eastburn, and burst into the open under the labels of Low and High Church at the time of the election of Eastburn's successor. Another fact which the disagreements over missionary problems underscored was the parochial aspect of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts. When a dozen or so persons in a community showed a preference for an Episcopal society, or when an individual paid for the building of a church for an Episcopal congregation, then the diocese might provide a missionary to serve the parish. Also Episcopal churches in and near Boston might severally help to furnish a new church with cloths for the Holy Table, a reading desk, or pulpit. Rarely did a diocesan missionary go into a community, small or large, without some previous expression of interest in the Church, and attempt to build up a strong Episcopal society. The work of diocesan missions with new and old parishes centered in trying to provide church services for those who favored the Episcopal form of worship. The 'unchurched' or those who were not happy in the religious societies to which they belonged, received little attention from diocesan missions. The value and accomplishments of the missions within the diocese in regard to new and old parishes lay in what information the missionary work discovered. On the basis of the facts revealed, individual benefactors, were they men or corporations, could determine what was needed and where.[9] Obviously the city of Boston showed the greatest need

9. These conclusions are those of the writer; like all generalities, they are subject to conspicuous, but minor, exceptions. Other missionary work went on in the dio-

for missionary work both for the 'unchurched' and for persons who might have joined an Episcopal society had they had the means to pay for a pew. For this group William Appleton gave $10,000 for a chapel in which the Episcopal City Mission could provide services. From entries in Appleton's diaries for the period 10 May 1843 to 31 December 1846, emerge some pertinent comments on diocesan missions.

First, it was Appleton's belief that the Church would gain more members among the poor, not because there were more of them, but rather that 'the poor are more susceptible of religious impressions than those in the higher walks of life . . .'.[10] Then he indicated that a feeling of duty, not a sense of privilege, induced him, at least, to contribute to missions. Finally Appleton feared that inadequate giving would further divide the clergy. A church built, furnished, paid for, and endowed might 'be a bond of Union among our Clergy, who most truly need it'.[11] Prior to the laying of the cornerstone of St. Stephen's Chapel on Purchase Street, Appleton attended a meeting in regard to organizing the Boston Episcopal City Mission. Of this meeting he wrote, 'I find such sensitiveness among those who take part in this charity, that I almost doubt if it will be useful . . .'.[12] Nearly three and a half years went by from the time Appleton offered to build 'a place of Worship' for the Boston City Mission until the completion of the structure. A general diminution of interest followed from this comparatively long interval.[13]

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cese, notably the Board of Missions for Seamen. R. H. Dana, Jr., introduced a resolution into the annual convention of 1845 in regard to missionary work for seamen. The convention voted to appoint a board of twenty men with 'the Bishop to be *ex officio* its president'. This board, which filled its own vacancies, included in its members non-Episcopalians, and was at least partly non-sectarian; it ceased to exist in 1870. The reasons for discontinuing the mission were that one chapel, 'The Free Church of St. Mary for Sailors', was adequate and that the number of seamen in the port of Boston was smaller than formerly, 'partly owing to the decline of commerce, and partly to the general introduction of steam navigation'. *JM*, 1845, pp. 44–45; 1870, pp. 50–52.

10. *Selections from the Diaries of William Appleton, 1786–1862* (Boston, 1922), pp. 101–102.

11. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 102.

12. Appleton, *Diaries*, p. 110.

13. Appleton wrote a few days before the consecration that 'I find very little interest others take in this affair; I fear I have less zeal than when I commenced it, yet, if I am not made better by it, others may be.' *Diaries*, p. 121.

Bishop Eastburn consecrated St. Stephen's Free Chapel on 5 October 1846. He cited Appleton's additional gift of $10,000, the interest on which was 'to be applied to the support of the Minister of the Chapel'.[14] Then the bishop noted a $5000 bequest by the late Edward Tuckerman, a fellow parishioner of Appleton's at St. Paul's, Boston, which sum, held in trust, was to go 'towards the maintenance of the Incumbent [the Rev. E. M. P. Wells] of St. Stephen's Chapel'.[15] As usual Eastburn hoped that Appleton's example 'may not have been set in vain', and then added, 'Oh that I could have some such acts to record, on every successive occasion on which we meet in annual council together.'[16] Whatever the diocese accomplished in its missionary work in Massachusetts indicated to what extent the diocese valued the Episcopal Church of which it was a part. What was done in diocesan missions under both Griswold and Eastburn was a measure of the ability of these diocesans to draw upon what resources the diocese possessed. Unlike New York, for example, where the diocese had an income from parochial vested interests, the Diocese of Massachusetts had to rely for the greater part of its income on what the men and women of the Diocese chose to give.[17]

14. *JM*, 1847, pp. 11–12.

15. *JM*, 1847, p. 12. Appleton gave in all $26,000 to St. Stephen's Chapel. *Diaries*, pp. 122–123.

16. *JM*, 1847, p. 12.

17. The Price Fund, created under the will of William Price, dated 30 Nov. 1770, has provided and still provides financial aid to Trinity Church in Boston. Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1896 [1881], 2 vols.), II, 420–442.

CHAPTER XVI

AS the three parishes of St. Anne's, Lowell, Grace, Lawrence, and Trinity, Haverhill, took firm root in their respective manufacturing towns in the Merrimack valley in Massachusetts, Episcopal societies appeared farther up the river at Nashua and Manchester, in the Diocese of New Hampshire. A recent historian of the Diocese of New Hampshire states, 'The story of the church in Manchester . . . begins with a swiftly flowing river and the establishment of a great textile industry along its banks.'[1] The largest of the textile mills was the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company. Like the mills in Amesbury and Haverhill, the Amoskeag mills attracted a number of workers who preferred the Episcopal form of worship. The Rev. Theodore Edson of St. Anne's, Lowell, led some of the earliest services, not in the usual hired hall, but in a schoolhouse.[2] Then a gift of land for a church building by the Amoskeag mills, and financial help from persons in Portsmouth and Concord enabled the parish of St. Michael's, organized 29 November 1841, to build a wooden church.[3] Bishop Eastburn consecrated St. Michael's Church on 28 December 1843, as Bishop Griswold's successor, Carlton Chase, was not consecrated New Hampshire's second diocesan until the next year.

At Nashua, on the Nashua River near its confluence with the Merrimack, the Nashua Manufacturing Company began operations

1. [The Rev.] Robert Hayes Dunn, 'A History of the Diocese of New Hampshire, 1802–1952', *The New Hampshire Churchman* v, no. 6 (June 1952), p. 22.

2. The Rev. L. Sears, 'Grace Church', D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Hillsborough County, New Hampshire* (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 104.

3. Dunn, 'Diocese of New Hampshire', p. 23; Hurd, *Hillsborough County*, p. 104. St. Michael's, organized as parish no. 10 in the Diocese of New Hampshire, changed its name in 1861 to Grace Church. *JNH*, 1951, p. 69.

as a 'cotton manufactury' in 1826.[4] In 1830 the population of Nashua was 2417; in 1840 when its mills had been going some fourteen years, the figure was 6054.[5] At Bishop Chase's request, the Rev. Milton Ward began an Episcopal mission in Nashua in 1845, but the mission did not prosper. In 1857 a parish was organized and a church was built and consecrated 15 July 1862 by Bishop Chase as St. Luke's Church. From 1858 to 1861, William Stevens Perry had charge of St. Luke's, having been ordered priest by Bishop Eastburn in the earlier year. In the first eleven years of its existence (1857–68), St. Luke's had eight rectors. Then the parish was dormant until 1871. Revived in that year, the group of Episcopalians in Nashua changed the name of the parish and built a new church on a different site, which Bishop Niles consecrated in 1878, as the Church of the Good Shepherd. A native of New Hampshire, Mrs. Lucia A. Rand gave upwards of $20,000 as a gift to the parish for the building and furnishing of this church.[6] Known as St. Luke's Church until 1872, the Church of the Good Shepherd was the fourteenth church organized in the Diocese of New Hampshire. Trinity Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts, organized two years earlier (1855), was about fiftieth in the Diocese of Massachusetts.[7]

The Rev. Robert Hayes Dunn, in his recent work on the Diocese of New Hampshire, set forth what combination of factors was necessary to the success of the parish of Nashua. He listed 'The marked personal interest of the bishop [in this instance, Bishop Niles], the dogged persistence of a small group, the windfall donation of a church building, the wise leadership of several parish priests, the growing population of an industrial town'.[8] With two exceptions these factors as has been shown above worked together for the successful establishment of parishes in Massachusetts. Not as influen-

4. Hurd, *Hillsborough County*, pp. 176–177. Nashua was known as Dunstable until 1836.

5. Hurd, *Hillsborough County*, p. 177.

6. This account of St. Luke's—Church of the Good Shepherd—is based on Dunn, 'Diocese of New Hampshire', pp. 30–31, 51–52; Prof. John Wesley Churchill, *History of The First Church in Dunstable-Nashua, N.H., and of Later Churches There* (The Fort Hill Press, Boston, 1918), pp. 68–69; Hurd, *Hillsborough County*, p. 193.

7. *JNH*, 1951, p. 70.

8. Dunn, 'Diocese of New Hampshire', p. 52 n.

tial in Massachusetts as in New Hampshire was 'the marked personal interest' of the diocesan as the supervision of half a hundred parishes had to be quite general, while the oversight of scarcely more than a dozen might be quite individual. The second exception in Massachusetts was found in the 'windfall' for a church. Individuals such as George Hodges, or mills such as those at Lowell or Lawrence might enable an Episcopal society to acquire a site for a church, and then pay for the building of it, but without any continuing support the congregation might not be able to maintain weekly services, as in Grace Church, Oxford; St. Anne's, Lowell, had to pay back to the mills the cost of the church building.[9]

The failure of Christ Church in Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, and the influence of Amos A. Lawrence in the community yield some facts of historical interest in the study of both the Dioceses of New Hampshire and Massachusetts. In February 1831 a group of persons 'who were of various Christian denominations, with a noble and truly Christian spirit' banded together as an Episcopal society at Salmon Falls. This parish called as its rector the Rev. Henry Blackaller, who, because of 'unpleasant occurrences', had resigned from the nearby parish of Somersworth.[10] The society built 'a beautiful little Church, and completely finished it in fine taste'.[11] Bishop Griswold dedicated this building as Christ Church on 24 July 1831. Griswold reported that two years previously there was but one Episcopal family in the village.[12] The Rev. Samuel McBurney took over Christ Church in 1833. Just prior to Bishop Griswold's visit in August 1834, a great fire destroyed the factory there; two young women were also fatally burned. As the factory provided the source 'on which the whole village depended for employment and means of living', its destruction caused a wide scattering of the

9. See *supra*.

10. *JED*, 1830, p. 9; 1831, p. 21. Salmon Falls is the 'business part' of the town of Rollinsford, which itself was set off from the town (now city) of Somersworth in 1849. Somersworth in its turn was set off from Dover in 1729 and became a town in 1754. 'The first manufacturing company in the state was incorporated at Salmon Falls in 1761.' *Manual for the* [*N. H.*] *General Court* (Concord, 1951), pp. 143, 179.

11. *JED*, 1831, p. 21; *JNH*, 1831, p. 115.

12. *JED*, 1831, p. 21; *JNH*, 1831, p. 115. The bishop reported confirming fifteen candidates at Christ Church during his 1831 visitation.

workers.[13] Mr. McBurney had to leave the largely dispersed parish. Christ Church suspended regular services, 'and its congregation [eventually] was merged with St. Thomas', Dover'.[14]

Industry revived, however, at Salmon Falls, and by 1853 Amos A. Lawrence had 'a considerable interest in the [textile] manufacturing establishment' there.[15] Mr. Lawrence's mill agent for the Salmon Falls Manufacturing Company, Pliny Lawton, wrote to him on 23 December 1853. In this letter, Lawton stated that he had had 'extreme difficulty to obtain permanent and good help'. He went on to say that American labor was not to be considered. Permanent foreign labor could only be kept at Salmon Falls were the mill owners 'to establish a [Roman] church with a smart Priest in the pay of the Company'.[16] A Roman society could not be organized without help from beyond the village, as there were places for only 'one Irish man to 10 or 12 [Irish] girls'.[17] Lawrence gave the number of Roman Catholic operatives, as of January 1854, at the Salmon Falls Company in Rollinsford, N. H., and across the river in Berwick, Maine, as 263, males 52, females 211.

As treasurer of the Salmon Falls Manufacturing Company, Lawrence sought the services of a priest from Bishop Fitzgerald in Boston, and he requested the help of 'Sam Hale, Esq.', Rollinsford, N. H., in selecting a site apart from the mills where the company could build a church. No word of the Company's participation in furthering a Roman Catholic parish was to be revealed.[18] Lawton's fear of prejudicing the American girls working at the mills induced Lawrence to ask Hale if he could not find a temporary place for Roman Catholic worship across the Salmon Falls River in Berwick, Maine, rather than in the company 'Hall' in Salmon Falls.[19] The

13. *JED*, 1834, p. 15.

14. Dunn, 'Diocese of New Hampshire', p. 37.

15. 'A. A. Lawrence, Letter Books', vol. II, p. 211. The Salmon Falls Manufacturing Co. included as proprietors Abbott, Amos, and A. A. Lawrence, Robert Mason, and William Appleton. D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Rockingham and Strafford Counties, New Hampshire* (Philadelphia, 1882), p. 662.

16. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. II, no. 15.

17. *Ibid.*

18. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. II, letters to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Fitzpatrick, pp. 211 and 215; letter to Sam Hale, Esq., 13 Jan. 1854, no. 18.

19. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. II, Hale letter.

plans went through, for in 1857 a church for a Roman Catholic society was built at Salmon Falls, 'very near the passenger station of the Boston and Maine Railroad'.[20]

The profitableness of the Salmon Falls Company came from the Salmon Falls River, which furnished total power to the mills the year round.[21] Yet this power was no more necessary than the 263 Roman Catholic operatives. 'We cannot run our mills at Salmon Falls without them . . .', wrote Lawrence.[22] From a business viewpoint alone, then, did he act in providing a Roman Catholic church for part of the mill workers. But for the lack of money to pay a rector, Bishop Carlton Chase could have maintained regular services at Christ Church. The need of this parish and its possibilities, however, as it was not in their own diocese, did not appear to the Episcopal proprietors of the company to be either a problem or an opportunity. A Roman society was a matter of business; an Episcopal society in another diocese was not a business affair.

Another sidelight which came from this Salmon Falls Roman Church matter was its illustration of the comparatively friendly feeling toward Romanists in Boston,[23] and the alleged 'prejudice' of the working, American mill girls against their sister mill workers from Ireland. French-Canadian immigrants had not yet permeated the industries of New Hampshire. Bishop Eastburn, nevertheless, did not succumb to any friendly feelings towards Rome, as he was still omitting the parish of the Church of the Advent, Boston, from his parochial visitations.

20. Hurd, ed., *Rockingham and Strafford Counties*, p. 671. Dover, N. H., seat of the Lawrence interests in the Cocheco Mfg. Co., had a Roman Catholic society from 1827, and an Episcopal society from 1839. Hurd, p. 835; *JNH*, 1840, p. 215.

21. 'There are two dams [at Salmon Falls], with a fall of nineteen and twenty-three feet respectively. It has not been found necessary to use steam or any other auxiliary to the motive power, the river so far [1882] having proved amply sufficient.' Hurd, ed., *Rockingham and Strafford Counties*, p. 662.

22. 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. II, Hale letter.

23. An observation on Boston's attitude toward Romanists in 1852 by an Hungarian of prominence, Ferenc Aurelius Pulszky, was that 'The feeling against the Roman Catholics has much subsided here in recent times. A convent would not now be burned down by the mob as it was twenty years ago. An intelligent gentleman with whom I spoke on this subject, told me that this turn in public opinion was entirely due to toleration, and not to an approach to the Roman Catholic dogmas. . . .' Oscar Handlin, ed., *This Was America* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 248.

CHAPTER XVII

THE last dozen years of Bishop Eastburn's episcopate, and life, saw the diocese provided with a school for clerical training, with the addition of several parishes significant to any history of the diocese, and, despite his influence, with no 'remedial Canon' on the subject of 'tawdry ceremonialism' which, in his words, had 'invaded' some of the parishes and missions of the diocese. During the early years of this period occurred the Civil War.

In the annual convention of May 1861, Bishop Eastburn closed his annual address with a reference to 'A nefarious rebellion . . . against the government and laws of the United States'. The response of the convention was to name a committee which drew up a report; this report was unanimously adopted.[1] In phrases borrowed from the Book of Common Prayer, the report expressed the sentiment of the diocese by stating its 'heartfelt sympathy with the National Government in all right efforts to uphold the Constitution and vindicate the authority of the FEDERAL UNION . . .'.[2] In his addresses of 1862 and 1864 Eastburn cited in the former year the God-given 'skill of our commanders, and the valor of our troops', while in the latter year he bade the diocese 'remember in love the wounded thousands among our soldiery, and among the legions of our misguided enemies'.[3] The convention of 1863 heard the bishop urge clergy and laity to pray as the war had had 'a disastrous influence upon the interests of the kingdom of Christ'.[4] Finally in 1865 the bishop expressed his feeling of 'overflowing gratitude to God . . . [for a] rebellion at length defeated, its military power

1. *JM*, 1861, pp. 27–28, 50. The members of the committee were the Revs. George M. Randall and John S. Stone, and Messrs. Robert M. Mason and Peter Hubbell.
2. *JM*, 1861, p. 50.
3. *JM*, 1862, p. 30; 1864, p. 30.
4. *JM*, 1864, p. 28.

broken . . . and [for] the blotting out of human bondage from every portion of the national territory'.[5] He characterized the 'murder' of Lincoln as a moral lesson 'to humble us! to lead us from dependence on human instruments! and to turn us to the Lord God Almighty as our only Shield and Buckler'.[6]

On the historical level, in the general convention held at Philadelphia in 1865, the Bishop of Massachusetts introduced a resolution for an additional subject in a service of thanksgiving for peace. This subject was a thanksgiving for 'the establishment of the authority of the national government throughout the land . . .'.[7] Bishop Horatio Potter of New York successfully opposed Eastburn's motion, the motion being lost 15 to 7.[8]

On the parochial level, financial contributions to the Sanitary Commission, the Christian Commission, 'Collections for the benefit of Soldiers', 'The Soldiers' Relief Society', 'Prayer Books for Soldiers', and aid to other special wartime organizations and causes were reported by the rectors of their respective parishes to the diocesan conventions during the war years. These financial gifts were paid for in part by the faithful sewing, packing, services to church fairs of every kind, and other activities of women in the parishes. Special 'collections' in the parishes, both in money and in clothing, aided the war effort. Mill towns and cities lost population during the war, and the parishes of St. Mary's, Newton Lower Falls, and St. Anne's, Lowell, suffered an actual or relative loss of communicants. On the other hand, the number of funds and organizations receiving money from many parishes revealed the war years as financially beneficial to these other parishes.[9]

Clerical incomes in the diocese did not go up during the Civil War, but the cost of living did. Realizing the hardships which this increase in costs meant to ministers and missionaries with small

5. *JM*, 1865, p. 31.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *JGC*, 1865, p. 165. Besides Eastburn, the other delegates from Massachusetts who lined up with him were: the Revs. Wharton, Babcock, Randall, and Nicholson, and Messrs. A. A. Lawrence and Edward S. Rand. *JM*, 1866, pp. 20–22.
8. *JGC*, 1865, p. 176.
9. This account of wartime work is based on the parochial reports in *JM*, 1862–64; 1863, p. 74; 1864, p. 93. Edson reported that Lowell lost an 'estimated' 10,000 of its population.

salaries, especially were they married and had families, Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Mason wrote to Bishop Eastburn from Paris, indicating their wish to help these needy clergy. A little later, in February 1865, Mason wrote to his business partner, Amos A. Lawrence, outlining his plan of help. He and Mrs. Mason offered $10,000 to the diocese, $5000 a year to be spent in two years by adding $250 annually to the salaries of twenty clergymen in 'greatest want'.[10] Worried by the High and Low Church parties in the diocese, Bishop Eastburn would not accept sole responsibility in distributing the fund. Mason 'requested' the bishop to talk with Amos A. Lawrence and James Amory about the selections to be made. Mason repeated in a second letter that 'The needs of such [clergy]men is to be the deciding factor, not their differences of opinions'.[11] William R. Lawrence, also in Paris, wrote his brother Amos A. Lawrence, suggesting that Amos A. seek the help of Otis Daniell in making up the list of clergy to be helped, if Daniell were not too far 'under the Bishop's influence'.[12] Amos A. Lawrence finally made up the list, which included twenty-five clergymen, seven of whom he characterized as Low, six he named as High; the other twelve he did not label.[13] Bishop Eastburn acknowledged the 'munificent gift', 'the joint deed', of $10,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Robert M. Mason, 'from the distant capital of France', in 1865 and in 1866. He also reported his 'mournful satisfaction, on the 9th of November [1865], of committing her [Mrs. Mason's] remains to the dust in the blessed words of our Burial Service, in the cemetery of Mount Auburn'.[14]

While high prices bore heavily on some married clergymen's salaries in the Civil War period, these same prices helped some businessmen, or they maintained or increased the incomes of men

10. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXVII, no. 190, R. M. Mason, Paris, France, 23 Feb. 1865 to A. A. L., Boston.

11. R. M. Mason, Paris, 16 May 1865, to A. A. L., Boston. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXVIII, no. 52. Said Mason, 'We are Catholic in our notions—my wife says, "tell Amos I think as compared with the Bishop, I am *high church*, but not extreme" '.

12. William R. Lawrence, Paris, 10 Apr. 1865, to A. A. L. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXVIII, no. 17.

13. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXVIII, May 1865.

14. *JM*, 1865, p. 32; 1866, p. 33.

who had retired from business. Retiring from business in 1856, 'that he might learn to dispense wisely what God had put into his hands', Benjamin Tyler Reed literally put into the hands of Edward S. Rand 'the better part of one hundred thousand dollar's worth of negotiable securities . . .' to establish a theological school.[15] Reed, who shortly made his gift up to $100,000, gave this sum in January 1867.[16] In the act of incorporation of 1 June 1867, the name of the institution appeared officially as 'The Episcopal Theological School'. The omission of the word 'Massachusetts' was, says the school's historian, 'to remove even the suspicion of subordination to the Diocese'.[17] Reed had seen the attempts to start a diocesan theological school in 1830 and 1836, and William Appleton's financial offer for one in 1846. He had also observed what happened to these earlier plans in the annual conventions. He therefore placed control of the new school in the hands of five lay trustees, although these five men must only be 'members' (though not necessarily communicants) of the Church under the charter. No written restriction appeared in the 'Fundamental Orders' of the school excluding clergymen as trustees.[18] Reed's precedent in naming only laymen as the original trustees, however, has always been followed.[19] The trustees appointed the faculty and named the advisory committee. This committee consisted of three laymen and three clergymen and, *ex officio*, the bishop of the diocese. Reporting Reed's gift of $100,000 'towards the establishment of a School of Divinity at Cambridge', Bishop Eastburn in his annual address to the diocese of 1867 made three points. First he pointed out that the management of the school was put into the hands of trustees who were 'to fill their own vacancies'.[20] Then he noted that Reed's gift was to be used 'exclusively' for the 'maintenance of the professors';

15. *The Harvard Register*, II, no. 5 (Nov. 1880), p. 222.

16. James Arthur Muller, *The Episcopal Theological School, 1867–1943* (Cambridge 1943), p. 8.

17. Muller, *ETS*, p. 26.

18. Muller, *ETS*, p. 23, n. 2.

19. Of the five original trustees, three, Edward S. Rand, Robert C. Winthrop, and John Phelps Putnam, were lawyers, while the two others were A. A. Lawrence, a commission merchant, and James Sullivan Amory, a businessman. Muller, *ETS*, pp. 11–14.

20. *JM*, 1867 p. 35.

thus there remained a need for a chapel, library, and 'for additional endowments'. The outlook for the provision of these further needs, was, he felt, sure of speedy success'.[21] He concluded his mention of the school by 'rejoicing' that its present control lay with men whose churchmanship rested on 'those great principles of protestant, evangelical truth, which our standards inculcate'.[22] In his subsequent diocesan addresses, Eastburn reported visits to the school, first for the laying of the cornerstone of St. John's Chapel, then visitations for confirmations and ordinations.[23] He consecrated the chapel on 16 November 1869, and in June 1870 he attended the 'Annual Examination of the Students', whom he found 'proficient'. He presided at the school's first and second commencements in June 1871 and 1872.[24] The bishop approved of the school in every way, and, at his death, left to it a bequest of books and money.[25]

The important fact about the school was its independence of control by either the bishop or the annual conventions of the diocese. The school required no canvassing of the parishes throughout the diocese to obtain funds for buildings. A group of Boston businessmen cared enough about maintaining the Church in Massachusetts in the form represented, for example, by St. Paul's and Emmanuel parishes in Boston, to provide theological training for future ministers.[26] Yet the independent organization of the school was typical of the diocese as seen through many of its member parishes. When Bishop Eastburn reported his laying of the cornerstone of St. John's Memorial Chapel, Cambridge, 24 July 1868, he said that Robert M. Mason's gift had two objects. First, the chapel was to be a memorial to his wife and to his brother, the Rev. Charles Mason. Then, the chapel was for the 'candidates for the ministry'

21. *JM*, 1867, pp. 35–36.

22. *JM*, 1867, p. 36. By 'our', Eastburn could only have meant 'my standards and those of the persons who think like me'. The churchmanship represented by the Church of the Advent and some other parishes always bothered the bishop.

23. *JM*, 1869, pp. 22–23, 34; 1870, p. 32; 1871, p. 24.

24. *JM*, 1871, p. 21; 1872, p. 21; 1873, pp. 27–28. In his visit of June 1872 the bishop admitted the six graduates to deacon's orders.

25. Muller, *ETS*, p. 49.

26. Reed, A. A. Lawrence, R. M. Mason, J. H. Burnham, and the Rev. J. F. Copley Greene were 'early benefactors' of the school. Muller, *ETS*, pp. 35–38.

at the school and 'such of the students at Harvard University, and such of the inhabitants of Cambridge, as may choose to attend, the preaching of the Word, and the other stated services of the House of God'.[27] Both the absence of religion among Harvard students and the small number of Episcopalian students still concerned some prominent members of the diocese who lived near Boston.[28]

Some three weeks before he officiated at the laying of the corner-stone of St. John's Chapel, Cambridge, Bishop Eastburn resigned as rector of Trinity Church after holding that place for twenty-six years.[29] The bishop was sixty-seven years old. None of his successors was to be obliged to serve both as bishop *and* acting rector of any parish. As Trinity's rector the bishop had received $3000 a year, and as diocesan he had been paid $1000. Now it was proposed that to 'enable the bishop to give up his duties as rector and to devote his whole time to the episcopate', the income of 'the present Bishop' should be $4500.[30] To pay this amount, more than double the amount of capital funds in the hands of the Trustees of Donations was needed. In 1865 the capital sum held by the Trustees of Donations for the bishop's support was about $20,000. To this amount the Committee on the Increase for the Fund for the Support of the Bishop suggested adding $30,000. The committee also proposed to raise this $30,000 by fixing a parish quota equal to the salary of its rector for one year.[31] Six dollars from each of the 9319 communi-

27. *JM*, 1869, pp. 22–23. The architects of the chapel were Ware and Van Brunt; the cost was some $70,000. *JM*, 1870, pp. 27–28.

28. Pres. Everett of Harvard, twenty-two years earlier (in 1846) found 'great fault with the dead state of the College in religious matters'. In writing to R. H Dana, Jr., in 1852, however, he doubted the value of a theological school in Cambridge, 'especially in this sagacious age, which has found out that Biblical learning is a very useless study'. The first quotation is from a letter of R. H. Dana, Jr., Boston, 24 June 1846, to his father. The second quote is from Edward Everett, Boston, 5 April 1852 to R. H. Dana, Jr. 'Dana MSS', Massachusetts Historical Society.

29. *JM*, 1869, pp. 22, 37. Eastburn resigned 1 July 1868. The Rev. Phillips Brooks 'took charge' of Trinity 31 Oct. 1869.

30. *JM*, 1865, p. 54; 1868, pp. 47–48. Dr. G. C. Shattuck reported to the convention of 1868 that the fund the interest from which was to supply the bishop's income of $4500 totaled only $45,000.

31. The income from $50,000 did not, of course, pay Bishop Eastburn $4500. One Boston church, Trinity, pledged $1000 annually for his salary, while three other parishes pledged $500 jointly: the Advent, Emmanuel, and St. Paul's. *JM*, 1865, pp. 53–57, 151 (appendix); *JM*,

cants in the diocese in 1865 would have raised the endowment goal.[32] Four Boston parishes made the salary up to $4500 for Bishop Eastburn from 1868 until his death in 1872 (see n. 31). At Eastburn's death the Boston parishes no longer contributed this $1500. At the meeting of the diocesan convention on 4 December 1872 to elect a new bishop, Dr. Shattuck made two motions relative to the bishop's salary. One was to increase the episcopal fund by $50,000 to a total of $100,000. The other motion was to advance the salary of the bishop to be elected to $6000. Both motions were adopted by the convention.[33] In 1875 Dr. Shattuck had to report that the new (1872) episcopal fund was only $84,000, still $16,000 short of the amount named by the convention.[34]

The difficulty which confronted Dr. Shattuck and the other members of the Committee on the Increase of the Episcopal Fund revealed once again the parochial or congregational aspect of the Church in Massachusetts. Wholly in the hands of a group of Episcopalian lay professional and businessmen, the building and endowment of the Episcopalian Theological School, a project involving several hundred thousand dollars, was accomplished by a group of Boston men with no difficulty or delays. On the diocesan level and handled by a committee appointed in the annual conventions, the bishop's fund, finally set at $100,000, was more than $10,000 away from its quota fifteen years later.[35] Thirty-three parishes gave nothing to the fund during its first decade (1864–74), though the fund committee 'did not put on their list dead and dying parishes'.[36] In analyzing what parishes did or did not pay assessments to the fund, Dr. Shattuck had to point out how large an amount, 'more than nine-tenths', came from city parishes. Among the cities, Boston was, of course, outstanding. The four parishes of Trinity, St.

1873, p. 56. The Canon of 1844, directing that 'In every parish in this Diocese, a Collection shall be annually made on Trinity Sunday, . . . to be added to the permanent fund for the support of the Bishop . . .' failed to be taken seriously. *JM*, 1865, p. 53; 1873, p. 57.

32. *JM*, 1865, p. 56.

32. *JM*, 1872, special convention, p. 24.

34. *JM*, 1875, pp. 56–58; 1874, p. 47.

35. *JM*, 1879, p. 53. It should be noted that through voluntary gifts the bishop's salary of $6000 was paid.

36. *JM*, 1874, p. 46.

Paul's, Emmanuel, and the Advent gave nearly a third of the 1865 fund, and about one quarter of the 1872 fund.[37]

For the enlightenment of the non-paying or the little paying parishes, Dr. Shattuck read them a lesson on the importance of 'our Chief Minister'. The parishes had contented themselves with the bare necessity of an annual episcopal visitation for confirmation. Only when the bishop did not have to serve as rector of Trinity (which parish paid most of his support), did he have time for diocesan and other parochial ministrations.[38] Lack of awareness of the importance of the episcopacy influenced also the parish minister, Dr. Shattuck found. Then he noted the obvious fact that a 'business and financial' vocation brought in, usually, a greater return than a professional occupation; and among the professions the least 'pecuniary returns' came from the clerical profession. Then in reference to Massachusetts he said, 'The stipends of the clergy in the Diocese are very small . . .'.[39] In speaking for the bishop's fund, he stated that 'Massachusetts is one of the very few Dioceses in which adequate provision is not made for the support of the Bishop'.[40] As a clinching argument in behalf of the bishop's fund, Dr. Shattuck made a statement that every churchman should have known from the time he was twelve years old, or at least from the time of his confirmation: 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are essential parts of our ecclesiastical polity . . . of our glorious heritage'.[41]

It is clear from Bishop Eastburn's own account of how he spent his time as diocesan that activities not directly connected with his diocese took an important share of his time and thought.[42] Yet parochial complaints that the bishop was neglecting a parish or not

37. The figures break down to $16,210 of $50,000 in 1863–64, and $11,500 of $50,000 in 1872–73. *JM*, 1875, p. 56; 1873, p. 56.

38. *JM*, 1874, pp. 46–47.

39. *JM*, 1865, p. 55.

40. *JM*, 1865, p. 56.

41. *JM*, 1865, p. 55. A delegate to the annual diocesan conventions from the Church of the Advent, Dr. Shattuck was well read in what 'Episcopal' meant in the Church's title.

42. Meetings of the American Church Missionary Society, the American Bible Society, the Tract Society, Protestant Episcopal Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge, Boston Young Mens Christian Association, Boston Branch of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States of America, and the Evangelical Educational Society were included in the Bishop's official activities. *JM*, 1861, p. 17; 1863, p. 24; 1864, p. 26; 1865, p. 20; 1866, pp. 26–27; 1870, pp. 27, 35.

performing an office which was usual for the diocesan to perform were very rare. In the annual convention of 1864, the Rev. Theodore Edson of Lowell formally complained that Bishop Eastburn 'for the last four or five years' had not been willing to perform the 'office of Institution of Ministers into Parishes or Churches . . .', or to delegate the service to another minister. Edson also wished that the bishop be requested to administer the Holy Communion at a service of consecration when requested by the rector or wardens. Edson also wanted the bishop to resume the practice of administering 'the Holy Rite of Confirmation to such sick or dying persons as may desire to receive it . . .'.[43] Edson's complaints of, and suggestions to, the bishop, put in the form of resolutions, were quickly and 'indefinitely postponed' by the convention.[44]

However much Bishop Eastburn appeared reluctant to perform some of the offices in the Book of Common Prayer, or to combine the service of Holy Communion with other services such as the Institution of Ministers into churches or chapels, he obviously welcomed the duty of consecrating churches and chapels.

At the time of his death, 11 September 1872, he had reported to the annual conventions fifty-nine consecrations. Fourteen of these services occurred in parishes which had had church buildings already consecrated. Fire, dilapidation, or razing for replacement usually by a stone church, accounted for this number. The remaining forty-five were new parishes.[45] Of these forty-five parishes, twelve were in what is now the Diocese of Western Massachusetts.[46]

43. *JM*, 1864, pp. 61–62. Bishop Eastburn instituted the Rev. W. R. Nicholson D.D., into the rectorship of St. Paul's, Boston, 11 Jan. 1860, but there is no evidence of his performing the service for the Rev. Phillips Brooks at Trinity on 31 Oct. 1869. *JM*, 1860, pp. 20–21. The rubric of the Book of Common Prayer of Bishop Eastburn's time stated that the Office of Institution was permissive, not mandatory; also the bishop was to determine whether or not the 'presbyter' to be instituted into office was ' "a qualified Minister of this Church." ' *The Book of Common Prayer etc.* (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 559.

44. *JM*, 1864, p. 62.

45. Trinity parish, Nantucket, was a new parish, although a few members of the former parish, St. Paul's, probably made up part of the new parish.

46. These parishes were in Amherst, Barkersville (Pittsfield), Cabotville (Chicopee), Fitchburg, Milford, Millville, North Adams, Oxford, Sheffield, Stockbridge, Webster, and Worcester. The parish at Southborough became an island of the Diocese of Massachusetts within the Diocese of Western Massachusetts in 1901.

South of Boston were five new parishes. The difficulty of establishing an Episcopal society at Plymouth, the center of the old Plymouth Colony, was overcome by 'the labors and prayers of the indefatigable clergyman', the Rev. Theodore W. Snow.[47] Snow subsequently became one of Bishop Eastburn's close friends. In Norfolk County two new parishes grew up under Eastburn, while in Essex there were five, and in Middlesex there were three.[48] Of the remaining twenty parishes (including missions), nineteen were in what today is known as metropolitan, or greater, Boston; one, Southborough, was in Worcester County, but is now in the Diocese of Massachusetts because of the diocesan connection with St. Mark's School.[49]

In Worcester County and the counties west of it a few parishes highlighted the extension of the Church during Eastburn's episcopacy. At Fitchburg he consecrated Christ Church on 22 April 1868. The stone structure 'in one of the most conspicuous and eligible situations in that flourishing town' came 'mainly' from the efforts of the rector and three persons among the congregation. The total cost of the church was more than $50,000.[50] The Church came late to Fitchburg, but all the factors were there which led to the establishment of a parish and the building of a large church:

47. These five parishes were Nantucket, Pawtucket (which became a parish in Rhode Island in 1862), Plymouth, Swansea, and Wood's Hole.

48. Essex County parishes were in Beverly, Danvers, Haverhill, Lawrence, and Salem. Middlesex included the parishes of Framingham, Lowell, and Waltham. The Norfolk parishes were St. Mary's, and Christ Church, both in Dorchester. Christ Church was in the portion of Dorchester which became Hyde Park in 1868. Hyde Park became part of Boston in 1912, while Dorchester had become a part of Boston in 1870. *Historical Data Relating to Counties, Cities and Towns in Massachusetts*, prepared by Frederic W. Cook ([Boston,] 1948), pp. 15, 79, 81.

49. Bishop Eastburn consecrated three churches in the Boston of his day, for the parishes of Emmanuel, the Messiah, and St. John's, East Boston, and three mission churches, Chapel of the Good Shepherd, the Free Church of St. Mary for Sailors, and St. Stephen's Chapel. In what was Dorchester, but now Boston, he consecrated St. Mary's and Christ Churches. In what is now greater Boston he consecrated churches for two parishes and the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, for two parishes in Brookline and one each in Malden, Medford, Melrose, Somerville, Woburn (making eight in Middlesex County and two in Norfolk), and Chelsea (Suffolk County).

50. *JM*, 1868, pp. 29–30, 113. The rector was the Rev. Henry L. Jones.

water power for mills, a wealthy mill owner, and the population of a city. One wealthy mill owner was Alvah W. Crocker.[51]

In Berkshire County, Bishop Eastburn consecrated two church buildings for the parish of St. John's, North Adams. The first consecration took place 10 October 1861, the second on 14 September 1869. The first structure was of wood, the second building was stone, 'built in the most substantial manner; the interior is at once simple and impressive; and the arrangements are such as become the protestant character of our Church'.[52] The cost of the new church was $25,000, which amount was '*wholly* the gift' of Mrs. Hiram Sibley of Rochester, New York.[53]

The region of North Adams, which until 1878 was part of the town of Adams organized in 1778, was 'endeared' to Mrs. Sibley 'by fond recollections'.[54] Whatever underlay Mrs. Sibley's attachment to North Adams, it is significant that she gave the money for an Episcopal Church. Based solidly as it was and is on the Book of Common Prayer, the Episcopal Church gave those who knew the prayer book a sense of comfort, security, and inspiration. This love of the known, of the familiar, meant that members of the Church kept up their churchgoing in the summer when they were away from their large urban parishes. Dr. William Lawrence in his correspondence with his brother, Amos A., mentioned going to St. Andrew's Chapel, a small mission church of transient existence, when he summered at Swampscott. Likewise, Bishop Eastburn reported in 1860 that a new church had been built near the Lynn-Swampscott boundary 'for the use of the summer residents of the

51. The Nashua River provided power for a paper mill owned by Alvah Crocker (1801–74), a native of Leominster, Mass., a self-made man, a politician and railroad promoter. Crocker's father, Samuel, was 'a most consistent and devoted' Baptist. William Bond Wheelwright, *Life and Times of Alvah Crocker* (privately printed, Boston, 1923), pp. 38–39; Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), IV, 140.

The population of Fitchburg in 1868 was about 10,000. William A. Emerson, *Fitchburg, Massachusetts, Past and Present* (Fitchburg, 1887), p. 181; *History of Worcester County, Mass.* (Boston, 1879, 2 vols.), I, 460, 465, 499–501.

52. Bishop Eastburn's words in his address to the annual convention of 1870. *JM*, 1862, p. 18; 1870, p. 23.

53. *JM*, 1870, p. 23; 1871, p. 23. Both Hiram Sibley and his wife, Elizabeth Tinker, were natives of North Adams.

54. *JM*, 1870, p. 23.

neighborhood . . .'.[55] He also mentioned preaching morning and afternoon at St. Andrew's, usually on a Sunday in July during the early 1860s.[56]

Amos A. Lawrence himself had the partial benefits of the Church in his summers spent at Nahant through the Nahant church. Eleven of the original fourteen founders of the Nahant church were Unitarians, but the organization was non-sectarian and had no regular clergyman.[57] A new chapel costing some $25,000 was built in 1869. The society was long in debt for part of this sum. In 1886 Amos A. Lawrence gave $1000 toward paying off this debt, and helped to raise some $3450 to liquidate all of it. Of the visiting clergy, the Rev. Thomas March Clark of the Episcopal Church preached forty-four times during the years 1836–85 at the Nahant Church, with the Rev. Samuel A. Eliot of the Unitarian Church as 'runner-up'.[58] The Rev. A. H. Vinton preached there many times, the Rev. Phillips Brooks a few times, and Bishop Eastburn once, in 1844.[59] The Episcopalian preachers at the Nahant church represented about one-fifth or one-quarter of the ministers who led the ten or twelve services held in Nahant each summer. The proportion of Episcopal ministers probably matched the proportionate number of Episcopalians who summered at Nahant. This non-sectarian church at Nahant was a forerunner of summer chapels, which Episcopalians were to build wholly for their own use at summer resorts both within and without the diocese.[60]

Two other consecrations by Bishop Eastburn in the last decade of his life reveal some significant facts and trends in the diocese to-

55. *JM*, 1860, p. 13.

56. *JM*, 1862, p. 17; 1864, p. 18.

57. (Mrs.) Samuel Hammond, *Nahant Church, 1832–1932*, compiled from church records (n.p., 1932), pp. 4, 11.

58. Hammond, *Nahant*, p. 11. E. H. Robbins, Dr. William Lawrence, and William Appleton, prominent Episcopalians, were at one time or another all summer residents of Nahant (p. 4). Nahant was incorporated as a town set off from Lynn in March 1853. Cook, *Historical Data*, p. 47.

59. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., *A Sermon . . . [on] the Nahant Church, 1877* (Cambridge, 1892, 2nd ed.), pp. 30–35.

60. A parish at Manchester, Mass., on the North Shore of Boston, and parishes at Harwichport and Hyannisport on Cape Cod are present examples of Episcopal summer chapels. St. Saviour's at Bar Harbor, Me., summer home of the late Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, and the Chapel of the Transfiguration at Bretton Woods, N.H., are outstanding examples of the devotion of Episcopalians to their Church in the summer.

wards the close of his episcopate in 1872. The first of these consecrations was that of Grace Church, Salem, on 2 June 1859.[61] The second consecration occurred at Longwood in 1868. Truly was Grace Church a 'daughter' parish of Salem's venerable St. Peter's. The population of Salem in 1860 was somewhat more than 22,000 persons.[62] The city was expanding toward the south, so that St. Peter's had become a 'downtown' church. Following in the office of rector of St. Peter's such men as 'the reverend and venerated Bishop Griswold, the humble and devout Vaughan, [and] the sainted and beloved Mason', the Rev. George Leeds came to Salem in 1853.[63] Commenting on the organization of Grace Church parish in 1859, Leeds reported that 'The effort had its origin in the mother Parish [St. Peter's], and the most hearty co-operation of both Rector and people'.[64] Leeds with the members of his vestry at St. Peter's met on 7 June 1858 and declared themselves '. . . unanimously of the opinion that another Episcopal Church could well be supported in Salem'. To this idea 'Bishop Eastburn gave his consent and blessing'.[65] Grace Church building was a wooden structure in the 'Gothic' style. Together with the land on upper Essex Street the church and furnishings cost about $10,000; this amount came largely from the sale of pews and gifts. The first rector of Grace Church, the Rev. George D. Wildes, noted that the entire cost of land, church, and organ was 'met by members of the Parish'.[66]

61. *JM*, 1860, p. 14.

62. *Manual for . . . the General Court* [*Mass.*], 1862, p. 115. Salem was incorporated as a city in March 1836, and was the second oldest city in the Commonwealth. Cook, *Historical Data*, p. 58.

63. George Leeds (1816–85) followed his graduation from Amherst in 1835 by three years at Andover Theological Seminary. Ordained deacon in 1839 and priest in 1841 by Bishop Griswold, he married 22 June 1843 Caroline Treadwell, daughter of a Salem banker. Mrs. Leeds died at Utica, N.Y., 1 Sept. 1851. Based on notes in collection of MSS of St. Peter's Church at the Diocesan Library. *Vital Records of Salem, Massachusetts, to the end of 1849* (Salem, 1916), III, 601; *JM*, 1854, p. 61; Rt. Rev. George Burgess, *List of . . . Order of Deacons, etc.* (Boston, 1875), no. 1342; *JED*, 1841, pp. 14, 21.

64. *JM*, 1859, p. 64.

65. Ellen A. Nichols, *Grace Church, Salem, Personal Recollections* (published by Grace House Lunch Room, Salem, 1925), p. 5.

66. Typed paper in file of Grace Church material, Diocesan Library; *JM*, 1860, p. 58. The Rev. George D. Wildes came to Grace Church from St. Andrew's, Chelsea. Wildes married a daughter of Benjamin Howard of Boston and Salem; the Rev. Thomas March Clark had married another of Howard's daughters. A third daughter

Who were the members of this new parish? The senior warden was Benjamin Shreve, a member of St. Peter's. Part of the congregation of Grace Church was a 'colony' from St. Peter's. Mr. Wildes stated in his first diocesan report that 'A large proportion, too, of the worshippers at Grace Church, are of families formerly connected with other Christian bodies'.[67] The great fact about Grace Church, however, was its permanence: with two successful Episcopal societies in Salem, in the event that one of them preferred a more ritualistic service than the other parish, or came under the influence of a High Church minister or congregation group, the more evangelical or Low Church society would provide a home for the discontented of the other society.

Within a year of consecrating Grace Church, Bishop Eastburn consecrated another 'daughter' parish of St. Peter's, Salem: Calvary Church, Danvers. Like Grace Church, the Rev. George Leeds of St. Peter's and a 'few zealous laymen residing in the place [Danvers], foremost among whom is Mr. Joseph Adams, a communicant of St. Peter's', provided the foundations for an Episcopal society. Under date of Sunday 28 June 1857, Leeds joyfully noted in his diary that '. . . at six o'clock in the evening, I preached in Bank Hall on Danvers Plain to a large & respectable & most attentive congregation. Our Ch[urch] choir was present, and a few parishioners of St. Peter's. This was the first service of the Church held in Danvers—the first time the chants & prayers of the Liturgy ever fell upon the still air of its village since creations dawn.'[68]

The diocesan Board of Missions took charge of the Episcopal society in Danvers for a year or so. By 25 May 1860, however, Calvary Church was built and paid for, and on that date Bishop Eastburn consecrated the building.[69] It was still a day of small affairs in

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married John R. Lee, 'one of our first vestrymen . . .'. Nichols, *Grace Church*, p. 11. Mrs. Wildes served as organist at Grace Church (p. 10).

67. *JM*, 1860, p. 58. The first officers of Grace Church were: Benjamin Shreve, senior warden, John Calef, junior warden, John R. Lee, Henry F. Shepard, Samuel Pittman, Jr., John S. Jones, George D. Glover, David P. Ives, vestrymen, and Charles S. Nichols, clerk and treasurer. Nichols, *Grace Church*, p. 8. '. . . among members of the [subsequent] vestry, two families have been represented by three generations . . .', *viz.*, Fabens and Tuckerman.

68. *Essex Institute Historical Collections* xc (Apr. 1954), p. 168.

69. *JM*, 1861, p. 13.

the Episcopal Church. It was not surprising, therefore, that the cost of the land and of the wooden church built upon it totaled but $5600.[70] Joseph Adams and Edward D. Kimball, merchants doing business in Salem but residents of Danvers, gave the site for the church valued at $1200, while they, with other parishioners and 'friends in other parishes of the Diocese', contributed $4400, the cost of the church.[71]

From some of the reports of Calvary Church to the annual diocesan convention of 1871 came sidelights of value. In 1863 the junior warden, Francis Peabody, noted that the parish had 'suffered' because of 'the enlistment of many of its members as soldiers'.[72] That men of an age eligible to join the armed forces also were members of the young Episcopal society, and that they were 'many', was not a circumstance common to other parishes of the diocese. In 1870 the rector of Calvary, the Rev. Samuel J. Evans, reported that, thanks to the 'Ladies', the parking problem had been successfully dealt with, by the building of 'suitable accommodations for persons coming to church in vehicles . . .'.[73] Again by 'the praiseworthy exertions of the Ladies', gas lighting made the holding of evening services more practical.[74] The report of the Rev. Mr. Evans for 1871 stated that 'A movement in the direction of erecting residences for the accommodation of persons doing business in Boston, it is hoped, will tend to the increase of the members of this

70. *JM*, 1861, p. 13; William F. Gavet, *Historical Sketch of St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts* (n.p., [1908]), p. 18. Bishop Eastburn cited his constant fear of 'Romanizing tendencies' in the Episcopal Church in reporting his consecration visit to Danvers. He said: 'Wherever our beloved Church is planted, it is sure of bringing rich benefits with it; provided, at the same time, that the Lord Jesus Christ be faithfully proclaimed from the pulpit, and the worship be kept free from those worse than puerile and pitiable superstitions, which have been introduced here and there into our protestant fold to its great injury and dishonor.' Annual address, *JM*, 1861, p. 14.

71. *JM*, 1861, p. 13; *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* XC, no. 2 (Apr. 1954), p. 154. The population of Danvers in 1860 was 5110. *The Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the . . . Town of Danvers . . . June 15, 16, 17, 1902* (Boston, printed by vote of the Town, 1907), p. 222.

72. *JM*, 1863, p. 72.

73. *JM*, 1870, p. 95.

74. *Ibid.* The 'mother' parish of Calvary Church, St. Peter's, Salem, first lighted its church by gas on Christmas Eve, 1856. *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* XC, no. 2 (Apr. 1954), p. 161.

Parish.'[75] Railroad service had made possible a home in a village for the 'commuter' who had a job in downtown Boston.

A third 'daughter' parish of St. Peter's, Salem, and but slightly younger than Grace and Calvary, was St. Peter's, Beverly. It received a visit from Bishop Eastburn for consecration on 4 September 1865.[76] The rector of St. Peter's, Salem, who succeeded the Rev. George Leeds in October 1860, was the Rev. William Rollins Pickman. Pickman came to Salem from the Diocese of Missouri.[77] Bishop Horatio Potter had ordained him deacon in New York and there, some nine months later, Pickman married Mrs. Frances J. Davis.[78] As early as August 1862 Pickman started holding church services in Beverly in the usual 'hall'. In this project he got help from three young men, Charles H. Bates, William Summers, and William G. Wells, all of Salem.[79] Organization of St. Peter's, Beverly, took place on 12 September 1864. A year later a building seating 250 persons was consecrated by Eastburn. The first rector was none other than the Rev. William R. Pickman, who had resigned his charge at St. Peter's, Salem, 20 June 1865, because of '. . . unfortunate circumstances, which alienated the majority of his parishioners and his rectorship [thus] was brought abruptly to a close'.[80] The importance of St. Peter's lay in the fact it was a 'free

75. *JM*, 1871, p. 100; D. Hamilton Hurd, compiler, *History of Essex County Massachusetts* (Philadelphia, 1888 [1887], 2 vols.), I, 508; Harriet S. Tapley, *Chronicles of Danvers (Old Salem Village) Massachusetts, 1632–1923* (Danvers, 1923), p. 158.

76. *JM*, 1866, p. 18.

77. *JM*, 1861, p. 26.

78. Burgess, no. 2549, under date of 1 July 1855. Among the MSS of St. Peter's Church, Salem, at the Massachusetts Diocesan Library are some notes about Pickman and other rectors. One such note states that Pickman was married in New York City on 10 Apr. 1856. Another entry signed by G. R. Curwen reads, '*note* "The Bishop's [Eastburn's] wife [Mary Jane Head] is a sister of Mrs. Benj. Pickman [who] is a brother of the Rev. Wm. Rawlins Pickman"'. George Rea Curwen (1823–1900) 'was a life-long member of St. Peter's Church, serving it as vestryman and lay reader'. *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.* LXX (Oct. 1934), p. 374.

79. Charles S. Bates was for many years the senior warden of St. Peter's, Salem. William G. Wells later entered the Episcopal ministry in Connecticut, was received into the Diocese of Massachusetts in 1872, and became rector of St. Peter's, Beverly, in Jan. 1873. Gavet, *St. Peter's*, p. 19; *JM*, 1873, pp. 32, 82–83; 1864, pp. 83–84.

80. The proprietors of St. Peter's, Salem, asked Pickman to resign, as '. . . very serious domestic difficulties and differences had arisen in family of Rector which had become public and a subject of scandal within and without the Parish and our

church', and the expense of the church building was met wholly by gifts, and not from the sale of sittings.[81] The contributors, unlike, for example, the single large giver of St. John's, North Adams, were many. Of underlying importance was the original contribution of the diocesan Board of Missions. One of the critical times in the life of an infant parish established as a 'free' parish, was the period prior to its having its own church building. Pickman had bolstered St. Peter's, Beverly, by inducing St. Peter's, Salem, 'to turn all its Missionary contributions to the support of the Mission at Beverly . . .'.[82] Other benefactors reported by Bishop Eastburn at the consecration of St. Peter's were George B. Pearson, senior warden of the parish, who gave $3500 including the land (valued at $1500), Beverly townsmen who provided $4000, and 'summer residents in Beverly . . . and others'.[83] St. Peter's first rector, Pickman, stated that the cost of the church and land was 'about $11,500'. Then he added, 'Of this [amount], $9000 have been furnished by the Parishioners; the remaining $2,500 was given by persons outside of the Parish and residing for the most part in Boston. To the noble-hearted Rector [the Rev. F. D. Huntington] and benevolent laymen of Immanuel [*sic*] Church, Boston, St. Peter's, Beverly begs hereby to acknowledge its obligations of gratitude.'[84]

The origin of one other parish in a township contiguous to Salem resulted from the missionary efforts of the first rector of Grace Church, Salem, the Rev. Mr. Wildes. The town was temporarily known as South Danvers, now Peabody; the mission became St. Paul's Church.[85] Outside of one or two families resident in South Danvers who attended Grace Church, Salem, there were in

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whole Community'. MSS, St. Peter's, Salem, Massachusetts Diocesan Library; Gavet, *St. Peter's*, p. 19.

81. *JM*, 1865, p. 85; 1867, p. 79.

82. 'Board of Missions Report', *JM* 1864, p. 47; 1865, p. 42. The work of the diocesan Board of Missions for Danvers and Beverly was carried out through its regional agent, the Eastern District Missionary Association. In 1864, this association reported 'adopting' a mission at South Danvers. *JM*, 1864, p. 47.

83. *JM*, 1866, p. 18.

84. *JM*, 1866, p. 78.

85. South Danvers was set off from Danvers and became a town in 1855. In 1868 its name was changed to Peabody. Cook, *Historical Data*, pp. 23, 53, 89; *JM*, 1924, pp. 91, 137.

1863 no other known Episcopalians.[86] The diocesan Board of Missions 'adopted' through the Eastern District Missionary Association the town of South Danvers as a missionary station 'for future operations'. Regular services dated from 29 May 1864; Wildes himself reported the following year that 'With but two exceptions, the service at South Danvers, since the last May, has been held by the Rector of Grace Church'.[87] Although St. Paul's parish was not organized until 1874, and the parish not in union with the annual convention of the diocese until 1924, yet the work of the Rev. Mr. Wildes of Grace, Salem, endured. The report of St. Paul's stated in 1876 that 'We have built a neat little church at the cost of $1,400, which is nearly paid for. The land cost $2,020, and is not paid for.'[88]

In 1872 the number of communicants listed in the parishes in and near Salem was: St. Peter's, Salem, 198; Grace, Salem, 109; Calvary, Danvers, 74; St. Peter's, Beverly, 42; while the first report from St. Paul's Mission, Peabody, listed 15 communicants. For this same year, 1872, the communicant figure for the Church of Our Saviour, Longwood, was seventy.[89] The cost of the four new churches in Essex County totaled about $30,500; the cost of the stone structure at Longwood was some $50,000.[90] Both the several parishes in Essex County and the one parish in Norfolk were examples of how parishes spread during Bishop Eastburn's last years.

The church in Longwood, built by Dr. William R. Lawrence and his brother Amos A., was a church building in search of a religious society. About a dozen years after Amos A. Lawrence had set up his home in the Longwood district of Brookline,[91] William T. Eustis of Boston wrote to him,

86. In 1865 the comparative figures of population for Salem's adjacent townships mentioned above were: Beverly, 5942; Danvers, 5144; South Danvers (Peabody), 6051. *Manual for... General Court* [*Mass.*], 1872, p. 178. *JM*, 1864, p. 85.

87. *JM*, 1865, pp. 86–87.

88. *JM*, 1953, p. 37; 1876, p. 125. There were seats for 150 in the church and for 20 in the choir. *JM*, 1876, p. 125.

89. *JM*, 1872, pp. 80, 81, 90, 92; 1872, p. 119; 1875, p. 154.

90. These figures appear in *JM* for the years of consecration of the churches; they are listed either in the annual address of the bishop or in the individual parish report.

91. William Lawrence, *Life of Amos A. Lawrence, etc.* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 60. The Lawrence family moved to Longwood on 25 Sept. 1851.

The subject of a Church to be located in Longwood is an important one; and in my judgment the time is not distant when a movement should be made. The establishment of an Episcopal Church might bring in some Unitarians, [but] I am so imbued with the old *Pilgrim* element that I prefer to wait a little longer in the hope that we may be able to establish a good, sound, orthodox Church in Longwood on the Congregational platform and that even you may return to your first love.[92]

Dr. William Lawrence, who had already had the experience of organizing Episcopal parishes and building churches, shared with his brother Amos the thought of building a church or chapel at Longwood.[93] Again, single large gifts for new Episcopal societies were not unusual, as exemplified in Burnett's gift of St. Mark's, Southborough, Alvah Crocker's gift for Christ Church, Fitchburg, Mrs. Sibley's gift of St. John's, North Adams, and in the gift of B. T. Reed of money for the establishment of a school of theology at Cambridge. Amos A. Lawrence's one-time business partner, R. M. Mason, gave the money for St. John's Chapel, Cambridge, a little over a year after Amos A. and William Lawrence had presented the diocese with the Church of Our Saviour in Longwood.

Ever since 1832 when the standing committee of the diocese had been the scene of party differences, more and more Episcopalians had become, and were becoming, more aware that a complete adherence to the Book of Common Prayer was not inconsistent with a ritualistic rendering of its various forms of worship. The founders of the Church of the Advent, Boston, in 1844, had succeeded in carrying out a mild addition of ritual to the prayer book, but this parish was virtually unique in its form of services in the Diocese of Massachusetts.[94] That ritualism could have an intellectual basis,

92. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXVII, no. 135. William T. Eustis, Boston, 5 Dec. 1864, to A. A. L.

93. William Lawrence had helped with St. John's, Jamaica Plain, and Emmanuel parish, Boston, 'A. A. Lawrence Letter Books', vol. V, no. 122; *supra*, p. 174.

94. 'Ritualism' became in the later 19th century to be confused with the term 'High Church'. From both a parochial and diocesan point of view (including both Bishops Griswold and Eastburn and the majority of the members of the standing committee), the Hobartian interpretation of 'High Church' had but a token representation in the Church in Massachusetts. 'Ritualism' on the other hand had stirred the minds of clergy and laymen, who showed in the first place curiosity concerning it, and then either attraction to it or repulsion from it.

and that it could intensify the form of worship set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, except 'among the masses', was a question of doubt with most Churchmen in Massachusetts.[95] That ritualism, indeed any innovation in the usual interior furnishings of the Episcopal churches of the diocese, was strange to clergy and laity was evidenced in a letter written 28 March 1868 by the rector of St. Paul's, Brookline, Francis Wharton, to his fellow townsman Amos A. Lawrence: 'You asked me last evening about the credence table, and I hastily answered that I had never seen one before. I now believe I have once or twice in Boston.'[96] The subject of ritualism, or 'Romish usages' as Bishop Eastburn termed it, came before general convention which met in New York City in October 1868.[97] On the basis of the pastoral letter issued by the House of Bishops, Bishop Eastburn faced his diocese with the pronouncement that the 'extravagancies in Ritualism, recently introduced . . .' sprang largely from individual clergymen who were somewhat unmindful of their ordination statements of intention.[98] In brief, then, the subject of

95. Writing from Paris, 3 Dec. 1865, Dr. William R. Lawrence said in a letter to his brother Amos A., 'I cannot but consider the immense advantage which the Romish Church has over ourselves, in all that concerns the attractions presented outwardly for the fostering of devotion among the masses. So long as people have hearts and eyes and ears, so long must they be influenced by such attractions . . .'. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXVIII, no. 173.

96. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. XXXI, no. 145. It should be mentioned in Wharton's defense that his early training was in the law. He was ordained in 1862, aged 42, and shortly after became rector of St. Paul's, Brookline. Muller, *ETS*, pp. 19–20; *JM*, 1963, p. 15.

97. The diocesan convention of 1868 named, as usual, eight deputies to general convention and eight substitutes. Listed as present at general convention were the Revs. Frederic D. Huntington, S. P. Parker, James Mulcahey, William H. Mills, and Cyrus F. Knight; the lay deputies were Messrs. A. A. Lawrence, B. R. Curtis, J. B. Stebbins, George C. Shattuck, M.D., and Joseph Burnett. The only member of the diocesan standing committee listed at general convention was Dr. Shattuck. *JM*, 1868, pp. 168–170; *JGC*, 1868, pp. 4 157–160.

98. *JGC*, 1868, p. 267; *JM*, 1869, pp. 28, 29. After condemning the trend toward belief in transubstantiation, the Bishops' Letter continued, 'We would at the same time, deprecate most earnestly those extravagancies in Ritualism, recently introduced, which tend to assimulate our worship to that of a Church, not only alien, but hostile to our own. And we must also urge you to remember that the reverent obedience to that Bishop, and other chief Ministers, promised by the Clergy at their ordination, would, if faithfully rendered, prevent these evils.' *Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops, to the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, A.D. 1868* (Hartford, 1868), pp.

ritualism occupied the minds of many of the clergy and laity in the diocese. Also, ritualism, which always had had some basis in the rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer, was to be merged with it in the sense that 'usage' or 'tradition' became a usual way or manner in conducting the prayer book services. By the time that Amos A. and Dr. William R. Lawrence planned to build a church, the change in 'interior arrangements and furnishings' from the Orthodox or 'established' Church of Bishop Griswold's time, at least in the Episcopal churches, was marked. The position of the altar as the focus of attention for the congregation meant that the reading desk was placed at right angles to the altar. In this position, the minister when reading and praying had his back neither to the altar nor to the congregation. In his reports of consecrations of churches, Bishop Eastburn had complained of this 'arrangement' in a few buildings, but had not pressed his objections to the point of non-visitation as he did in the instance of the Church of the Advent, Boston. As far as the over-all architecture of churches was concerned, it is clear that Eastburn favored a 'Gothic' type of building of the Upjohn type, rendered in stone rather than in wood.

Stone, of course, was the material that Alexander R. Esty, the architect of the Church of Our Saviour, used.[99] The interior of the church as consecrated by Bishop Eastburn on 29 September 1868 was unlike the church today, as there were then no choir stalls and fewer memorial stained-glass windows.[100]

Bishop Eastburn could not record the laying of the cornerstone of the Church of Our Saviour as the building of the church had already started. In fact the standing committee, together with the

8–9. A brief account of the 'ritualism' controversy appears in Edward C. Chorley, *Men and Movements of the Episcopal Church* (New York, 1946), pp. 376–380.

99. Herbert H. Fletcher, *A History of Our Saviour, etc.* (Brookline, 1936), pp. 8, 13; *JM*, 1869, p. 26.

100. Most church buildings which have been, and are, in use today for the Episcopal societies which built them before 1872, have changed their interiors noticeably. Heating and lighting changes would at once reveal a difference, while the change of organs and choir galleries would be a second alteration. Churches representing the colonial tradition, e.g., Christ Church, Boston, St. Mary's, Newton Lower Falls, and Christ Church, Cambridge, reveal less of a change because of their conformity to early established canons of New England architecture. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 14.

bishop, only gave its assurance that the diocese would accept the church, when built and paid for, on 17 April 1867, before which date work on the building had begun.[101] Had not the standing committee or the bishop consented to the formation of this new parish in Brookline, the Lawrence brothers were prepared to offer the church 'to some other (Evangelical) denomination'.[102]

The motives which prompted Dr. William Lawrence and Amos A. and the difficulties they faced in regard to forming a religious society in Longwood appear in many letters to Amos A. from his friends and from his brother William.[103] The need of a church or chapel developed from the slowly growing residential portion of Brookline known as the Cottage Farm section or Longwood.[104] By 1860, ten years after Amos A. Lawrence had moved there, David Sears had built a church variously known as 'Christ Church', 'The Apostolic Catholic Church of America', the 'Gospel Church', or just 'the Sears Church'.[105] Amos A. Lawrence asked David Sears to change the services to provide for the Episcopalian residents of Longwood, but Sears refused.

Sears had also successfully prevented the rector of St. Paul's, Brookline, Francis Wharton, and under him the Rev. Abbott Brown of New York, from holding services at a schoolhouse for the convenience of Longwood families. Even some members of the vestry of St. Paul's, Brookline, of which Amos A. Lawrence was a member,[106] stated their objection to another Episcopal society in Brookline, indicating to Bishop Eastburn that a second society would injure St. Paul's financially. Amos A. Lawrence answered this

101. *JM*, 1867, p. 41; Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 8. Bishop Eastburn called the gift of the Church of Our Saviour 'an edifying example of the consecration of wealth to the glory of Christ, and the highest good of men'. *JM*, 1869, p. 26.

102. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 8.

103. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vols. xxx and xxxi.

104. David Sears named the section Longwood 'after the place on St. Helena where Napoleon died'. Lawrence, *Lawrence*, p. 60. The population of Brookline in 1865 was 5262, and in 1870, 6650. *Manual for . . . General Court* [*Mass.*], 1872, p. 181.

105. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 7; Harriet F. Woods, *Historical Sketches of Brookline, Mass.* (Boston, 1874), p. 402. David Sears had written a Book of Worship for use in his chapel; A. A. Lawrence termed the congregation of the chapel 'the "Searsarian Church." ' Lawrence, *Lawrence*, p. 238.

106. Lawrence, *Lawrence*, pp. 233–234.

objection by pointing out to the bishop that the members of the vestry who so addressed him 'enjoy an aggregate income of not less than $100 *M*', while fifteen members of St. Paul's 'render to from [$]325 *M* to 255 *M* . . .'.[107] Realizing that the church building would be offered to another Christian society, the bishop and standing committee accepted it at once for the Church in Massachusetts.

Having obtained the approval of the bishop and standing committee, Dr. William Lawrence went to Swampscott for the summer, and in September 1867 to Amherst, Massachusetts, and to Saratoga Springs, New York. Amos A. Lawrence went to Europe. The rector of St. Paul's, Brookline, wrote Amos A. in Europe to say that 'I hope you will go to some of the real ritualistic churches in England, so as to let us know how things really are'.[108] At the same time Dr. William Lawrence was writing to his brother with the new church at Longwood foremost in his mind.[109] On the subject of unreserved 'sittings', he wrote, 'I do not believe we can carry on a strictly free church, but we can lease seats, leaving all unoccupied ones free to all comers. Your idea of an open pew at the end, would be a good one if you could choose your neighbor, and if the communion of the Saints could be made a fixed fact . . .'.[110] The whole idea of a Church at Longwood was a doubtful experiment, according to Dr. William Lawrence's letters.

On 14 January 1868 the Rev. Elliott D. Tomkins, rector of St. John's Church, Northampton, Massachusetts, agreed to become

107. Notes on church at Longwood, 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. xxx, no date. See also A. A. Lawrence 'Memorandum' of Apr. 1867 (*op. cit.*, no. 114).

108. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. xxx, no. 203, dated Longwood 1 July 1867.

109. 'Those who build churches', wrote William to A. A. Lawrence, 'do not expect to receive back their money. Pews, particularly in new churches, do not sell at their cost.' 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. xxx, no. 164. Saratoga Springs, 20 Sept. 1867. 'I have in my mind put down the cost of [a] church as we are to build and furnish it without tower at $40,000. I do not regret that we have commenced it, and hope it will prove a success.'

110. 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. xxx, no. 212. Lynn, Mass., 13 Aug. 1867. Five weeks later Dr. W. R. Lawrence wrote to Amos A. that 'We visited the Church [Grace] at Amherst, Mass., and found it a "gem." ' 'A. A. Lawrence Letters', vol. xxx, no. 164. Saratoga Springs, 20 Sept. 1867.

the first rector of Our Saviour.[111] The parish organized as a corporation on 19 February 1868, with the following officers: senior warden, Dr. William R. Lawrence; junior warden, S. L. Bush; vestrymen, A. A. Lawrence, Dr. Robert Amory, Commodore George P. Blake, S. Dana Hayes, and Copley Amory; treasurer, Francis W. Lawrence; clerk, John D. Bryant.[112] The 'first' service took place Sunday 22 March 1868, some six months prior to the church's consecration.[113] Only as the church was about to commence services did Dr. Lawrence suggest to his brother that they '. . . have it for a memorial' to their father.[114] For the first few years of the Church at Longwood, its 'membership . . . seemed very much like a single family'.[115] Tomkins served as rector until after the death of Bishop Eastburn.

111. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 10; *JM*, 1868, p. 31. Tomkins was born in Philadelphia, graduated from College of the City of New York in 1858, and attended the Virginia Theological Seminary. Ordained deacon in the Church of the Incarnation, Philadelphia, 21. Nov. 1862, he was ordered priest by Bishop Potter in Bay Ridge, New York, on 1 Apr. 1865, by request of Bishop Eastburn. As deacon, Tomkins had become rector of St. John's, Northampton. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p.64; *JM*, 1865, p. 27; 1868, p.31.

112. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, pp. 8–10.

113. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 10.

114. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 11. Fletcher quotes from a letter, dated 22 March 1868, written by A. A. Lawrence to James Lawrence, in Europe, telling his cousin about the church at Longwood: 'I did not expect to build it until William suggested it a year ago; nor to give it away . . . Of course, it is Protestant Episcopal (not English but American) and we prefer that. This is not evidence that we dislike other forms of church organization and worship or that this is the only true church.' Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 11.

115. Fletcher, *Church of Our Saviour*, p. 14.

CHAPTER XVIII

BISHOP EASTBURN could look upon the Church of Our Saviour at Longwood on the eve of the general convention in New York, in 1868, and find it good. The church had a choir 'of half a dozen boys (not in white surplices)', with congregational participation in chants and hymns. The rector was 'a capital reader and preacher', and the Holy Table was not elevated above the sanctuary floor.[1] The parish did not reveal any taint of ritualism.

The subject of ritualism occupied, however, a foremost place in the discussions of general convention of 1871, held at Baltimore, as it had in the convention of 1868. In what proved to be his last annual address Bishop Eastburn, some four months before his death, presented to the Diocese of Massachusetts his summary of the convention's viewpoint on ritualism, especially in relation to his diocese. No wishful thinking underlay his affirmation that '. . . the great majority of our people [lay and clerical churchmen] expected, and had a right to expect . . .', canons restricting ritualistic forms.[2]

The last official act of Bishop Eastburn, reported after his death to the annual convention of 1873, was his joining with the Rev. John Seely Stone and the Rev. William Wilberforce Newton in funeral services for the Rev. J. S. Copley Greene. The Rev. Mr. Greene had been a 'most intimate' friend of Bishop Eastburn.[3]

1. *JM*, 1869, pp. 26–27; Herbert H. Fletcher, *A His ory of the Church of Our Saviour* (Brookline, 1936), pp. 11, 14.

2. *JM*, 1872, p. 25. 'The House of Bishops', said Eastburn, '. . . did their duty in the matter.' The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies did not concur in voting canons against ritualism, but trusted 'to the paternal counsel of the several Diocesans' to protect their flocks from 'tawdry ceremonialism'.

3. *JM*, 1873, pp. 28, 38. Greene died 6 July 1872; his funeral was held in St. Paul's, Brookline, 9 July 1872. Eastburn

Only about ten weeks later, on 11 September 1872, Manton Eastburn, fourth Bishop of Massachusetts, died at the 'Episcopal residence, 28 Brimmer street' of malignant dysentery.[4] Conducting the service three days later at Trinity Church, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, were Bishops Neeley of Maine, Bissell of Vermont, Clark of Rhode Island, and the Rev. Theodore William Snow, one of two Examining Chaplains to the Bishop of the Diocese.[5] There were no immediate relatives at the services. The rector of Trinity, the Rev. Phillips Brooks, had not returned to Boston from a summer's travel in Europe.[6] At Bishop Griswold's death there was no bishop of Maine, there was no bishop of Rhode Island, to attend his funeral, as he acted as the bishop of both dioceses.

At Eastburn's death the Diocese of Massachusetts had paid the bishop's salary only with difficulty; to obtain funds to support an assistant bishop or bishop coadjutor was an accomplishment still a generation away. To fill the vacant 'Episcopal Chair', the standing committee called a special meeting of the members of the annual convention of the preceding May; this meeting was scheduled for 4 December 1872 at Trinity Church, Boston. Trinity Church was destroyed in the Boston fire of 9 and 10 November, so the special meeting of the convention took place at St. Paul's Church, Boston.[7]

The Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, rector of Emmanuel Church, Boston, by unanimous resolution, was named as the presiding officer of the convention. The first business to come before the meeting was a report from the committee on the increase of the

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pointed out that as layman and cleric, Greene 'gave liberally of ample means' to the Church, and preached 'clearly, distinctly, and exclusively' a Christian, redemptive theology. *JM*, 1873, p. 28.

4. *Boston Daily Evening Transcript*, 12 and 14 Sept. 1872.

5. The Rev. Theodore W. Snow (Rt. Rev. George Burgess, *List of . . . Orders of Deacons, etc.* [Boston, 1875], no. 1173), ordained deacon by Bishop Griswold 18 Dec. 1836, 'was also one of the Bishop's most intimate friends, one to whom the Bishop confided perhaps more than to any other man the inmost thoughts of his heart'. Mr. Snow intended to write a life of the bishop, but he died 6 Nov. 1872. *JED*, 1837, p. 8; *JM*, 1873, p. 38.

6. A. V. G. Allen, *Phillips Brooks* (3-volume edition), II, 177.

7. *JM*, 1872, Special Meeting, pp. i–iii.

episcopal fund. Speaking for the committee, Dr. George C. Shattuck stated that the fund yielded only $3000 annually. He then went on to say, 'We call ourselves Episcopalians, and the Bishop is an absolute necessity to our organization, and we must show our sense of the value and importance of the office by contributing in due proportion for the support of the incumbent.'[8] Dr. Shattuck also stated that $6000 was the minimum salary that 'must be provided'.[9] Then the convention took up the election of a diocesan. Two names led on all the ballots, with a scattering among a dozen other clergy. These men were the Rev. Mr. Vinton, and the Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, of New York City. On the fourth and final ballot, Haight received forty-three votes and Vinton thirty-six.[10] Haight thus became Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Massachusetts. At this time he was an assistant minister of Trinity parish in New York City, and was entering upon his sixty-fourth year.[11] This election followed the pattern of the election of 1842 which named a candidate from out of state. Like the election of 1838, also, it named a candidate who refused to serve.[12] The special meeting of 4 December appointed the Rev. A. H. Vinton, the Rev. Alexander Burgess, and Dr. George C. Shattuck a committee to advise the Rev. Mr. Haight of his election. Haight was a churchman of the Hobart type.[13] Haight and Eastburn had been in opposite camps on issues concerning the General Theological Seminary and the Diocese of New York in the 1840s and early 1850s.

8. *JM*, 1872, Special Meeting, p. 18.

9. To provide for the increase in the bishop's salary, Dr. Shattuck's committee was 'instructed to persevere in efforts and appeals to the parishes for the . . . sum of fifty thousand dollars, to be added to the Episcopal Fund'. *JM*, 1872, Special Meeting, p. 24.

10. *JM*, 1872, Special Meeting, pp. 25–27.

11. Morgan Dix ed., *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York* (New York, 1906, 5 vols.), IV, 530–532.

12. See *supra*, p. 109; *JM*, 1872, Special Meeting, p. 28 n.; Dix, *Trinity*, IV, 531. Benjamin Isaacs Haight (1809–79), a graduate of Columbia College (1828), and General Theological Seminary, was ordained 3 July 1831 by Bishop Onderdonk of New York; he served in New York City, Cincinnati, Ohio, then in New York again as a professor at General Theological Seminary, and assistant minister of Trinity parish. Dix, *Trinity*, IV, 530–531.

13. This statement is based upon a pamphlet of Haight's entitled *A Letter to a Parishioner, Relative to the Recent Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey* (New York, 1843), pp. 7, 12.

Haight had good reason to decline the offer of the Episcopal Chair in Massachusetts by the obvious excuse of his age, and on the generally prevailing and expressed feeling of the Diocese of Massachusetts towards the episcopacy.

CHAPTER XIX

THE convention of 1810, which chose Alexander Viets Griswold as Bishop-elect of the Eastern Diocese, numbered as the representatives of the Diocese of Massachusetts six clergymen and sixteen laymen acting as delegates for the state's six or eight parishes. The special meeting of the Massachusetts convention of 4 December 1872, which was called to elect a successor to the late Bishop Eastburn, listed ninety-two clerics, of whom eighty-three were present and voted. The secretary of the convention called the roll of eighty parishes. Present and voting at the convention were lay delegates from sixty-six parishes.[1] Numerical growth was, then, the most obvious factor during these sixty-two years of the history of the diocese. This increase in numbers of clergy, laymen, and parishes was paralleled, and caused by, the increase in population in both the nation and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Of more significance than mere increase in numbers, however, was the way in which the Church grew. The Church expanded in Massachusetts primarily by the organization of new parishes. The addition of parishioners to older parishes was an important, though secondary, factor. The beginnings of new parishes followed, in general, three different patterns. Large urban parishes, such as St. Paul's, Grace, and Emmanuel Churches in Boston, sprang up almost ready-made; the number of parishioners in these societies was comparatively large from their start. Small parishes, in manufacturing towns or at mill sites, represented the deliberate choice of the manufacturers or mill owners for the Episcopal Church. This Church appealed to these early nineteenth-century

1. *JM*, 1872, Special Meeting, pp. 2–28.

industrialists, many of whom were immigrants from England, because of the likenesses to the Church of England. Where there was but a single plant, or an industry did not prosper, the parishes, if they survived, remained small. A multiplicity of industry, as in Lowell and Lawrence, which were incorporated as cities in 1836 and 1853 respectively, resulted both in increased numbers of parishioners and in the founding of new parishes in the same cities. A third pattern of parochial organization revealed a combination of motives which led individuals to assume the task of forming a new parish. In one instance, two or three members of an Episcopal society who lived in another township from the one where the Church was, or who dwelt in a part of a township remote from the Church, asked the minister to hold services for them locally on a Sunday afternoon or evening, or even on a weekday. If the attendance was steady and numerous enough to warrant organization of a parish, one was formed. The success of a parish thus organized rested in part on the appeal of the minister to the new group, and in part on the financial willingness and ability of the members of the infant parish to buy land and to build a church. St. James' parish in Greenfield during Titus Strong's rectorship, and St. Peter's, Salem, under the ministry of the Rev. George Leeds, typified 'parent' parishes from which younger neighboring parishes came.[2] Another important motive in the genesis of parishes of this third type was a dissatisfaction or disagreement between members of a religious society and its minister. Dissension was an element always present among the reasons for starting a new parish by members of an older parish. Divergence between minister and individuals, or among groups of parishioners, or dissatisfaction on the part of the would-be members with the location of a church building, or with the difficulty in obtaining seats, all these causes led to the founding of new parishes. The immediate origin, then, of parishes in this period sprang from the efforts of lay individuals and groups influenced by local or parochial circumstances. The role of the diocese in the

2. The 'daughter' parishes of St. James' were Trinity in Montague and St. John's in Ashfield, and of St. Peter's, Grace in Salem and Calvary in Danvers.

origin and growth of parishes consisted in providing a clearing-house of information and facts about some of the parishes, in providing, in part at least, a salary for the bishop, and in the maintenance of parishes whose founders did not, or could not, support them. During the years of Bishops Griswold's and Eastburn's episcopates, diocesan missionary funds were never adequate to the task of selecting a site favorable to the development of an Episcopal society, and then of organizing and staffing such a mission until it became a parish and in union with annual convention. To keep small, financially needy parishes alive, however, until they became self-supporting was a job that the diocese did with a success which outweighed its failures.

Who were the laymen and clergy who joined together to form new parishes and who made up the diocese? In general, the laymen were 'first generation' Episcopalians. Those laymen who were so-called 'born' Episcopalians were either members of families belonging to pre-Revolutionary Churches, or they were English emigrants already members of, or familiar with, the Anglican Church. In general, the clergy, too, were first generation churchmen. By the decades of the 1840s, '50s, and '60s, however, both laymen and clergymen's families revealed that family and marriage ties had provided for an important increase in the number of Church members. In other words, Episcopal parishes grew by their attraction of individuals and families sharing a similar social background. This drawing power showed equally in the growth of Unitarian parishes, especially in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. Harvard College was a social influence early in the century, which provided ministers more numerous and more brilliant for the Unitarian societies than for the Episcopal. Prior to the Civil War, the preponderance of '. . . men eminent for ability, worth, and beneficence, and most of the principal merchants, lawyers, and physicians', rested with the Unitarian societies in contrast to Episcopal societies.[3] The two societies had much in common, however, and drew members to their respective groups,

3. Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), III, 479.

both lay and cleric, from a like social background. The fact that both Unitarians and Episcopalians of Massachusetts in the first third of the nineteenth century were dissenters from the Orthodox, or Trinitarian-Congregational Church of the Standing Order brought them together in some interesting ways. Thus in 1835 in the town of Montague, Franklin County, 'the Unitarians with the aid of the Episcopalians, built the "White Church," west of the common'.[4] Shortly before this time, Episcopalians and Unitarians had joined in 'sitting under the preaching of the Rev. Rodolphus Dickinson'.[5] In the year 1836, the Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham of the First Church, Boston, baptized Phillips Brooks, using a Trinitarian form of service which proved valid in the Episcopal Church for Brooks' subsequent confirmation, ordinations, and the ratification of his election to the episcopate. About this same time, a member of Christ Church, Rochdale (Leicester) became 'an active and true participant, as long as she lived', in the Second Congregational (Unitarian) Church in the same town, while maintaining her membership in the Episcopal Church. Her reason for remaining a parishioner of Christ Church sprang from her gratitude for her 'hospitable admission, without demanding any subscription to theological doctrines', as did the other religious societies. 'But in all things spiritual', wrote her Unitarian minister, the Rev. Samuel May, 'she was wholly with us.'[6] Viewed historically, then, there was a close parallelism between Episcopalians and Unitarians. The latter greatly outnumbered the former in members, ministers, and churches. Because of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century trend of Congregational (Trinitarian) parishes to change into what later were known as Unitarian parishes, the Unitarians had churches in many townships throughout the state. The Episcopal parishes, apart from the handful that survived the Revolution (and most of these parishes were within thirty miles of Boston) were few and weak until the third decade

4. Edward P. Pressey, *History of Montague* (Montague, 1910), p. 118.
5. Pressey, *Montague*, p. 117.
6. Caroline Van D. Chenoweth, *History of the Second Congregational Church and Society in Leicester, Mass.* (Worcester, 1908), p. 168.

of Bishop Griswold's episcopate (i.e., the 1830s). By then, St. Paul's, Boston, under the ministry of the Rev. John Seely Stone, had demonstrated that a newly formed Episcopal society could survive the predominantly Unitarian religious atmosphere of Boston, and an older society, Trinity, proved itself able to build, and pay for, a new church edifice. Also by the 1830s, through individual effort, the Episcopal Church had stable outposts in the Connecticut valley at Greenfield, and in Berkshire County, at Pittsfield. Yet the Church in Massachusetts was small enough in members and parishes so that the socially prominent leaders of one parish had a state-wide acquaintance with persons in the same position in all the other parishes. The lack in new, small churches of what were loosely called church furnishings brought forth a response from women's parochial organizations, which showed that women of the older established parishes, especially in Boston, were alive to the needs and conditions of newly organized churches throughout the state. On the diocesan level, only about a dozen clergymen and perhaps a score of laymen actually ran the affairs of the Church. Many men served the diocese for a year or two. A few individuals filled diocesan offices for many years. In general, the ministry of a clergyman in Episcopal parishes throughout Massachusetts was short, i.e., lasting from less than ten years to as little as a year or two. Primarily responsible for this fact were the inadequate salaries paid to the clergy. Usually, the money to establish and support an Episcopal society, including the cost of building a church and of the lot upon which it stood, came from one or two individuals or from a small group. Once the church was consecrated, the maintenance rested on the parishioners. If one person in the parish were a large donor and died or moved away, or if most of the parishioners were dependent upon one mill or factory in the town for their support and this industry curtailed or suspended operations, the parish, which usually survived these crises, kept going only as a small society with occasional services. Help came, if at all, from the clergy of the nearest parish. Diocesan aid reached a needy parish when the bishop pointed out in his annual address the specific need or importance

of keeping alive a certain parish. The bishop's appeal, if it were answered at all, was met by one or two 'friends of the Church', usually wealthy Boston businessmen who had an interest in maintaining parishes in other areas besides Boston.

The motives of these 'friends of the Church' rested on personal interests rather than on a diocesan outlook. Parish aid sprang from a desire to keep going an Episcopal society near a summer resort, or at a country seat of a city dweller, or in the midst of a newly developed residential section, urban or suburban. A pre-Revolutionary origin and tradition brought about the revival of a few parishes by a few interested individuals. Support of a parish largely, if not wholly, to provide a position for a much liked and prominent clergyman came readily from his family and friends who also became his parishioners. When the parish lost the services of such a minister, the parish income dropped off, occasionally to a point where the church had to close. The founding, maintenance, and growth of Episcopal societies in the Diocese of Massachusetts under Bishops Griswold and Eastburn followed no overall plan devised by the diocese. Rather did the peculiar conditions of each parish determine the course of its own affairs.

However independent of one another and however congregational in aspect Episcopal societies appeared to be, a very real unity obtained among them. This bond of union was provided by the Book of Common Prayer. A prescribed form of worship gave to the Episcopal Church a framework within which the clergy held its services, and with which the congregations could become familiar and even read for themselves. General Convention had provided for the publication of a 'standard prayer book' by 1801. The Constitution and Canons of General Conventions set forth rules and regulations which affected each parish in union with an annual diocesan (state) convention, where the annual, diocesan convention previously had acceded to the Constitution of General Convention. The cohesive action of the Book of Common Prayer was far from rigid, as many prayer meetings and ministers' lectures in or out of the churches held on weekdays or evenings used other than prayer-book prayers. Also, a minister used his and his

congregation's discretion as to what services he would read and how often he would read them (e.g., the Litany and the service of Holy Communion). The great binding force of the Book of Common Prayer was its creeds. No matter how much individuals varied in their interpretations of the creeds, the creeds stood. Purposely abandoning any dogmatic or doctrinal statements of belief, the Unitarians, putting their emphasis on liberalism, organized themselves into a national council only in 1865. This council carefully avoided any doctrinal or dogmatic statements of theology, thereby imposing no restrictions nor any set form of worship on ministers or on their parishes. This '. . . absence of an authoritative standard of doctrine . . .', resulted in lessening the growth and prominence of the Unitarian Church during the latter part of the nineteenth century.[7] On the other hand, a set form of worship and the creeds as part of the Book of Common Prayer not only checked dissension among Episcopal parishes, but created a unity among them. This unity promoted growth and kept the controversies of High and Low Church and of ritualism from developing into schisms. As laymen became better acquainted with the Book of Common Prayer, especially with that portion of it known as 'The Ordinal', the stronger became its cohesive influence.

The result of this rapprochement of Episcopal societies in the Diocese of Massachusetts directed the attention of both parishes and diocese to the problem of carrying the ministrations of the Church to the poor and needy in urban areas and to the unchurched in rural areas. This change in outlook meant specifically the organization of parishes with free sittings, and in general, an effective diocesan and national missionary work.

The group of Episcopal societies in 1811 was characterized by nominal membership, at least, in a Church on the diocesan and the General Convention level. Of more significance than the mechanical setup was the fact that a congregational polity prevailed in most parishes. Members of these parishes, with the exception of the stay-at-home or returning Anglicans during and after the

7. Winsor, *Boston*, III, 479.

Revolution, were newcomers in the sense that they had recently moved to Boston from smaller towns, or they found in Episcopal societies a liturgy and theology that appealed to them. The grounds of this attraction were the conservative, traditional, and evangelical qualities that stamped the Church in Massachusetts. In the early years of the nineteenth century, therefore, the Church became an intensely socially conscious group of both individuals and parishes, avoiding the theological differences between the Congregational (Trinitarian) Church on the one hand and the liberal forces in theology which became the Unitarian Church on the other.

Finally, during and right after the Civil War years, the character of Episcopal societies showed changing tendencies. Social consciousness increased and the view that religious societies were ancillary to industry weakened and became a less obvious mark of Episcopalians. Under a wider knowledge of the Book of Common Prayer and by its unifying influence, the Diocese of Massachusetts began to show above all else a catholicity of character, membership, and leadership.

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